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JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

History of the Reign of Shāh Jahān

BY

ABDUL AZIZ, *Barrister-at-Law*

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Book II

CHAPTER II

The Mughal Army

It must be understood at the outset that in theory all able-bodied citizens of the empire were potential soldiers of the imperial army. In the Account of the Twelve Provinces (*Aḥwāl-i-duwāsda Saba*) in *A'in*, I, 387-596, Abū'l-Faḥl, among other things, gives the number of cavalry and infantry respectively (with an occasional mention of elephants, artillery and boats in some cases) which can be raised from every *sarkār* and from every province ; separate figures for each *maḥal* being also given in many cases. Naturally enough the cavalry in these estimates is vastly outnumbered by the infantry.¹ This constituted the total effective man-power in the country, which was calculated by Abū'l-Faḥl as over forty-four lakhs (Text, I, 175).

Horn's remarks on the subject are just : 'Allerdings ist eine solche Truppenmasse niemals wirklich gleichzeitig verfügbar gewesen, und

¹ 'The high figures for infantry in each district and province, shown in volume ii of the *Ain-i-Akbari*,' says Irvine, 'can only be accepted under considerable reservation. These numbers can only represent the men called on to render strictly local duty, and they must have consisted almost entirely of villagers armed with long pikes, or swords and shields, perhaps even with only an iron-bound bambu staff (*lāṭhī*).' (*Army*, 162).

andererseits wäre doch die Zahl der waffenfähigen Männer damit nicht erreicht worden, da dieselbe zweifelsohne mehrmals grösser gewesen sein muss.' (p. 40).

These figures refer to a sort of military reserve corresponding roughly to militia levies in England or to *landsturm* in Germany.

In practice, however, the army was recruited according to well-defined rules, and the numbers of the soldiers actually enrolled were regulated by an elaborate system, a brief outline of which has already been placed before the reader.

Speaking in modern language, the Mughal army was composed of cavalry, infantry and artillery. But the importance attached to each of these arms of the service in Mughal times, and the efficiency of each were so unequal that it is better to follow Abū'l-Faḡl's classification of the army into (1) *Manṣabdārs* (with the horsemen under them), (2) *Aḥādīs* (gentlemen-troopers), and (3) *Piadagān* (infantry, which was a great miscellany including, among other things, artillery).¹

Cavalry, which was constituted by (1) and (2), was by far the most important part of the army—the chief factor determining the fighting strength of the empire. Irvine's remarks on the subject cannot be improved upon: 'The army was essentially an army of horsemen. The Moghuls from beyond the Oxus were accustomed to fight on horseback only; the foot-soldier they despised; and in artillery they never became very proficient. Until the middle of the eighteenth century, when the French and the English had demonstrated the vast superiority of disciplined infantry, the Indian foot-soldier was little more than a night-watchman, and guardian over baggage, either in camp or on the line of march. Under the Moghuls, as Orme justly

¹ This is for brevity. If we wish to be more exact, there were three other classes of cavalry also: (1) The *Burāwardī* troops, 'worthy but poor; they receive the means of keeping a horse, and have lands assigned to themselves, without being obliged to mark their horses with the Imperial brand.' (Blochmann, 231). It is probably these troopers that are referred to again in *Ā'in* 5 (Blochmann, 250-51). (2) The *Dākhilī* troops. 'Some Commanders,' says Abū'l-Faḡl, 'who find it troublesome to furnish men, get a number of such soldiers as accept the Imperial brand. Such troops are called *Dākhilīs*.' (Blochmann, 231). (3) *Kumakīs*. 'Some Commanders also receive auxiliaries. Such reserves are called *Kumakīs*.' (Blochmann, 232).

But these three classes are so insignificant that in a general estimate like that of Shāh Jahān's total forces by 'Abdu'l-Hamīd Lāhorī (*B.N.*, II, 715) for instance, they are not considered worthy of mention.

says "Hist. Frag.," 4to, p. 418, the strain of all war rested upon the numbers and goodness of the horse which were found in an army.' (*Army*, 57).

I. MANṢABDĀRS AND THEIR FOLLOWERS

Much the greater part of the cavalry consisted of *Manṣabdārs* and their *Tabīns*.

The quality of the Mughal army, therefore, depended upon the leaders chosen under the *manṣabdārī* system and the soldiers recruited and presented by them. The government, speaking generally, rested upon their loyalty and their efficiency.

The way in which the *manṣabdārs* were selected and promoted, and the horsemen recruited and presented is well described by Irvine:

'Single men who resorted to the Court in the hope of obtaining employment in the army, were obliged first to seek a patron. A man generally attached himself to a chief from his own country or of his own race: Mughals became the followers of Mughals, Persians of Persians, Afghāns of Afghāns, and so forth. On this point there were certain customary rules, which are thus stated by Khūshḥāl Chand, Berlin MS. 495, fol. 1072b. A noble from Māwarā-un-nahr recruited none but Mughals; if from Īrān, he might have one-third Mughals and the remainder Sayyads and Shekhs, or if he took Afghāns and Rājputs, of the former he might entertain one-sixth and of the latter, one-seventh of his total number. Nobles who were Sayyads or Shekhs might enlist their own tribe, or up to one-sixth they might take Afghāns. Afghāns themselves might have one-half Afghāns and the other half Mughals and Shekhzādahs. Rājputs made up their whole force of Rājputs.' (*Army*, 36).

Again, 'according to a man's reputation or connections, or the number of his followers, would be the rank (*manṣab*) assigned to him. As a rule, his followers brought their own horses and other equipment; but sometimes a man with a little money would buy extra horses and mount relations or dependents upon them. When this was the case, the man riding his own horse was called, in later parlance, a *silāḥdār* (literally, equipment-holder), and one riding somebody else's horse was a *bārgīr* (burden-taker). The horses and equipment were as often as not procured by borrowed money; and not unfrequently the chief himself made the advances, which were afterwards recovered

from the man's pay. The candidate for employment, having found a patron, next obtained through this man's influence an introduction to the *Bakhsh-ul-mamalik* or *Mir Bakhsh*, in whose hands lay the presentation of new men to the emperor, and on his verdict a great deal depended as to the rank (*manṣab*) which might be accorded.' (*Army*, 36-37).

The remarks of Bernier, who is nearer to our period, are equally interesting. 'It must not, however, be inferred,' he says, 'that offices of trust and dignity are exclusively held by those of the *Mogol* race, or that they alone obtain rank in the army. These situations are filled indifferently by them and strangers from all countries; the greater part by *Persians*, some by *Arabs*, and others by *Turks*. To be considered a *Mogol*, it is enough if a foreigner have a white face and profess Mahometanism; in contradistinction to the Christians of Europe, who are called *Frangis*, and to the *Indous*, whose complexion is brown, and who are *Gentiles*.' (p. 3).

Again the same writer: 'These armies are composed either of natives, such as *Ragipous* and *Patans*, or of genuine *Mogols* and people who, though less esteemed, are called *Mogols* because white men, foreigners, and *Mahometans*. The court itself does not now consist, as originally, of real *Mogols*; but is a medley of *Usbees*, *Persians*, *Arabs*, and *Turks*, or descendants from all these people; known, as I said before, by the general appellation of *Mogols*. It should be added, however, that children of the third and fourth generation, who have the brown complexion, and the languid manner of this country of their nativity, are held in much less respect than new comers, and are seldom invested with official situations: they consider themselves happy, if permitted to serve as private soldiers in the infantry or cavalry.' (p. 209).¹ Yet we are told in the sequel that the *Mughals* 'form the principal force of the kingdom.' (p. 211).

We might go further back: The way in which candidates in general were presented to the Emperor and their appointments sanctioned is thus described in *A'in* (Text, I, 158). The procedure applies to

¹ On this question of the bearing of a fair complexion on patronage and promotion, the following extract from the same author is amusing: 'The women [of Kashmir] especially are very handsome; and it is from this country that nearly every individual, when first admitted to the court of the *Great Mogol*, selects wives or concubines, that his children may be whiter than the *Indians* and pass for genuine *Mogols*.' (404).

enlistment of horsemen directly recruited¹, to *ahadīs*, to *manṣabdārs*, and to officers of the imperial workshops; and does not in any case refer to servants drawing a lower monthly salary than Rs. 50:

Men from *Tūrān*, *Īrān*, Turkey and Europe, and from India and *Kashmīr* come in search of appointment. The officers fix their salary; and the *Bakhshīs* present them to the Emperor.

The horsemen, on joining, do not bring their own horses; the *Ahadīs* being the only exception. The salary originally proposed is suitably altered and sanctioned, being often increased. A number is presented every day, sometimes more, sometimes less. On Monday the candidates left over in the preceding week are inspected.

Special *Bitikchīs* (writers) similarly present *Ahadīs*.²

The *umārā* often solicit a *manṣab* for some of their servants. Suitable candidates are accepted.

Employees (*parastārān*) of every workshop (*kārkhāna*) have their salaries fixed in this meeting, and their duties pointed out to them.³

The delegation of the duties of recruitment and administration of the army to the *manṣabdārs*, while it relieved the central government of the expense and worry of a heavy establishment, offered a strong temptation to corruption and abuse. 'False musters,' says Irvine, 'were an evil from which the Moghul army suffered even in its most palmy days. Nobles would lend each other the men to make up their quota, or needy idlers from the bazaars would be mounted on the first baggage pony that came to hand and counted in with the others as efficient soldiers.' (*Army*, 45).

Even as early as the reigns of 'Alā'ud-Dīn *Khaljī* and of *Sher Shāh*—the *manṣabdārī* system was an old one—the need had been felt for an effective supervising and checking system, which should ensure an efficient army without needless waste of money. The institution of *dāgh-o-mahallī* had, therefore, been inaugurated by those kings, as *Budā'ūnī* tells us (II, 190); and, like so many other reforms popularly

¹ It is difficult to say which class these horsemen belong to, unless they are the ones spoken of in Book II, *A'in* 5, viz., *Barāwardī*, or again, possibly, the *Dākhilī*, troops.

² For the rest about an *Ahadī's* appointment both in this *A'in* and in *A'in* 4 (Book II) see elsewhere.

³ Blochmann's translation of this *A'in* (pp. 161-2) is disappointing. What we have given is a summary rather than a translation, and is drawn directly from the text.

ascribed to Akbar but really earlier institutions, the old *dagh* system of verification and identification was only reintroduced or effectively reinforced by *Shahbāz Khān Kambū*, the *Mir Bakhsht*, in the twentieth year of Akbar's reign. The measure produced much irritation and discontent; but it appears ultimately to have been fully enforced even in the succeeding reigns.

The procedure adopted in Akbar's time was as follows:

When a new man was appointed to a *mansab* it was his duty to enroll the number of horsemen required under the rules; and these were examined at a muster to make sure that men, horses and accoutrement came up to the required standard. In strictness the recruit furnished his own horse, but in practice the *mansabdār* often supplied him with horses and equipment.

For the sake of identification of the men and the horses the following rules were strictly observed:

'A *Chihrah* or descriptive roll of the new *mansabdār* was first of all drawn up, showing his name, his father's name, his tribe or caste, his place of origin, followed by details of his personal appearance.' (*Army*, 47-48).

The *mansabdār's* *chihra*, however, is not mentioned in *Ā'in*. Was it introduced later?

The troopers' roll (*Chihra-i-Tabinān*) was then prepared. The procedure is fully described in the *Ā'in*. It applies apparently not only to a *mansabdār's*, but to all, cavalry:

His Majesty 'ordered that upright *Bitikchīs* should make out descriptive rolls of the soldiers and write down their peculiar marks. Their ages, the names of their fathers, dwelling-places, and race, were to be registered. . . .

Every one who wishes to join the army, is taken before His Majesty, in whose presence his rank is fixed, after which the clerks make out the *Ta'liqah*.

Dākhilī troops are admitted on the signature of the *Manṣabdārs*.

His Majesty has also appointed five experienced officers who have to look after the condition of the men, their horses, and the stipulated amount of pay. His Majesty has the men assembled in an open place, and receives the several descriptive rolls, when the men with their horses are handed over to the above five officers. The amount of their pay is then entered at the bottom of the descriptive rolls, and is

countersigned¹ by those officers, which serves as a proof, and prevents fraudulent alterations. Each roll is then handed over to the inspecting *Dārogah*. He takes them in the manner described above to His Majesty, who orders the pay to be increased or decreased. When the roll is thus certified, it is also signed by the *Wāqī'ah Nawīs*, the *Mir 'Arz*, and the officer commanding the guards.² On the strength of this certificate, the *Dārogah* of the *dagh* (brand) marks the horses.' (Blochmann, 255; Text, I, 190-91).

The specimen of the *Chihra-i-Tabinān* copied by Irvine from a *Dastūr-ul-'Amal* (B.M. MS. No. 6599, fol. 163a) gives the name of the soldier, his father's name, and his personal appearance; to which is appended a brief description of the horse. (*Army*, 48). This apparently represents later practice.

Last of all came the *Chihra-i-Aspān* (Descriptive roll of horses). It was an elaborate description of the horse or horses, setting forth in detail the class to which the horse belonged in a highly elaborate system of classification, and describing minutely the marks on the horse's body.

But in the case of the horses the descriptive rolls were not a sufficient safeguard against fraud. For 'horses answering the description in the rolls were even hired, and substituted for the old ones.' (Blochmann, 256). So the imperial brand was placed on the right thigh of the horse, while the *mansabdār* had his own brand imprinted on the left. (*Storia*, II, 376; Blochmann, 256). For a description of these brands at different periods see Blochmann, 139, 255, 256, and Irvine, *Army*, 49-51.

This proceeding was known as *Dagh-o-mahallī*, or simply *Dagh*.

These brands and descriptive rolls were obviously meant for reference when the same *mansabdār's* cavalry was presented for review a second time. There were elaborate rules for periodical musters: Every *mansabdār* who held a *jāgīr* had to present his horses after three years³, failing which his *jāgīr* was docked to the extent of $\frac{1}{10}$. The officer who drew his salary in cash had to renew his *dagh* every

¹ I should substitute 'sealed' for 'countersigned'; '*sikka*' is the word in the text.

² This is not quite accurate. It appears from the text that the *Wāqī'a nawīs* signed while the other two officers only affixed their seals.

³ Not 'every year', as Blochmann translates by a slip (p. 256), and Irvine uncritically copies (*Army*, p. 54).

eighteen months. The *umarā* whose *jāgīrs* were situated in a remote place were given a concession: the interval between two *daghs* was not to exceed twelve years in any case¹. Yet, after a lapse of six years they lost $\frac{1}{10}$ of their *jāgīr*; so the free concession really extended to six years only.

If a man gets an increase of *manṣab*, and three years have passed since the muster he draws his enhanced *ḡāl* salary from the date of increase, but his additional cavalry cannot receive any pay until it has passed through the *dāgh*². (*Ā'in*, Text, 191-92).

The second and later musters were technically known as *dāgh-i-mukarrar* or repetition of the brand (*lit.* repeated brand.)

Within a *manṣabdār's* division there was no classification into regiments. All were immediately under the *manṣabdār*, with whom every soldier had personal relations—which formed the basis of the entire system. As Dr. Paul Horn rightly remarks, 'Nummerisch bestimmte Verbände, unseren Compagnieen, Bataillonen u.s.w. entsprechend, gab es nicht.' (p. 11).

Nor was the numerical strength of each arm placed on anything like a regulated basis. The numbers of archers, sabremen, etc., were not fixed. 'Für die Stärkeverhältnisse der einzelnen Waffengattungen unter einander', says the same writer, 'waren bei Bildung einer Armee, keine Regeln vorgeschrieben.' (p. 43).

It is to be noted, however, that lower *manṣabdārs* could serve under higher *manṣabdārs*. Under an amir of 10,000 personal rank could serve a *manṣabdār* of up to 1,000 personal rank, under one of 8,000 up to 800, under one of 7,000 up to 700, under one of 5,000 up to 500, and under a *manṣabdār* of 500 an officer of up to 100 personal rank. In case of ranks lower than 500 such inclusion was not admissible (*Ā'in*, Text, 175). Perhaps this rule applies only to disposition of forces in the battle-field.

The *manṣabdārs* and their followers, looked at as a whole, were a composite body, each unit of which had certain distinguishing characteristics of its own. We have no doubt the Emperor knew well how to make appropriate use of each. We have already seen in a quotation

¹ Blochmann (257) is tripping here again.

² The rules given by Irvine (p. 54) are somewhat different and more elaborate. We omit them, since they are drawn from a *dastūr-ul-'amal* of 1118 A.H., and probably embody later amendments.

from Bernier why and under what circumstances the Rājputs and Pathāns were considered specially valuable as a source of military strength. Apart from those reasons, the Rājputs were highly prized both for their fighting qualities and for their staunch fidelity and a delicate sense of honour.

Again, the Bārha Sayyids had acquired from the time of Akbar, a right to fight in the vanguard,¹ which they must have won by special distinction in the method of warfare peculiar to that position in the line of battle.

Babur's remarks are interesting in this connection. 'Among the Moghuls', he says, 'the Institutions established by Chingiz Khan have continued to be strictly observed down to the present time. Every man has his appointed station; those appointed to the right wing, the left wing, or the centre, have their allotted places, which are handed down to them from father to son. Those of most trust and consequence are stationed on the extremities or flanks of the two wings.' (*Memoirs*, Leyden, Erskine, and King, I, 165-66).²

Besides we know that different peoples not only had different ways of fighting, owing to their national peculiarities, but in some cases specialized in the use of certain arms. This must have qualified them for certain special operations, and for certain positions in the army drawn in battle-array.

The composition of a unit, *i.e.*, of a *manṣabdār's* regiment, differed according to the two rules known to be in existence. Irvine, relying on *Mir'at-i-Ahmadi*, II, 118, tells us that 'the *Tabīnān*, if horsemen, must be one-third Mughals, one-third Afghāns, and one-third Rājputs; if infantry, two-thirds archers, and one-third matchlockmen.' (*Army*, 9).

Manucci is totally unreliable on this subject; yet the following quotation from him seems to support the above statement: 'A man getting the pay of a *hazārī* in the first class is obliged to keep two hundred and fifty horsemen of different races—that is to say, sixty-four Pathāns, sixty-four Mughals, sixty-four Rājputs; the remainder are Saiyids, Shekhzādahs, and so forth. The regulation still observed up to this day was made by King Akbar.' (*Storia*, II, 375).

¹ Blochmann, 391.

² M. Pavet de Courteille, who in translating from the original *Chaghatai*, renders the last sentence differently: 'Les plus estimés parmi ceux de l'aile droite sont stationnés aux extrémités de cette aile.' (*Mémoires de Baber*, I, 218.)

Irvine has already¹ given us certain rules about the classes and respective numbers of men to be recruited by *manṣabdārs* of different nationalities or tribes. The authority on which he draws bears date 1161 A.H. The *Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadī* was written in 1174 A.H.

Another class of horsemen is to be noticed, which has had no place in our classification, but formed part of the cavalry,—viz., the *Rozīnadārs*, i.e., men with daily salary. '*Rouzindars*', says Bernier, 'are also cavaliers, who receive their pay daily, as the word imports; but their pay is greater, in some instances, than that of many of the *mansebdars*. It is, however, of a different kind, and not thought so honourable, but the *Rouzindars* are not subject, like the *mansebdars*, to the *Agenas*; that is, are not bound to take, at a valuation, carpets, and other pieces of furniture, that have been used in the King's palace, and on which an unreasonable value is sometimes set. Their number is very great. They fill the inferior offices; many being clerks and under-clerks; while some are employed to affix the King's signet to *Barattes*, or orders for the payment of money; and they scruple not to receive bribes for the quick issuing of these documents'. (pp. 215-16.)

Manucci in the same strain: 'There is still another mode of payment called *ruzindar* (*rozīnah-dār*)—that is, pay by the day given to infantry and cavalry. Yet, although they have this name, they are not thus paid: several months are allowed to elapse.' (*Storia*, II, 377).

II. AHADIS

The *Aḥadīs* were gentlemen troopers, a special class of horsemen, who were generally round the Emperor's person, and owed allegiance to no one else.

Probably a higher standard of efficiency and general worth was set up for an *Aḥadī* than for an ordinary horseman in a *manṣabdār's* ranks. In Akbar's reign, many *Aḥadīs* drew a salary of more than 500 rupees *per mensem*. We learn from *Tūzūk* (p. 5; R. and B., i, 10, top) that Jahāngīr, on his coronation, raised the salary of the *Aḥadīs* by fifty *per cent*. At a late period—in 1120 A.H. (=1708 A.C.)—enlistment of 4,700 extra *Aḥadīs* was ordered at Rs. 40 a month. (Irvine, *Army*, 44).

¹ See p. 281 above.

The *Aḥadī* could muster up to five horses in Akbar's reign; the maximum in Jahāngīr's time, however, was apparently only four (De Laët, p. 113); though Hawkins places the limit at six (Purchas, iii, 30).

Horn is not far wrong when he describes the *Aḥadīs* as 'ein besonderes Gardécavallerie-corps' (p. 20). We agree with Irvine however, that though this is partially true, there was not any formal recognition of them as such. (*Army*, p. 43). The duties of the *Aḥadīs* were of a more miscellaneous character than those of Emperor's body-guard, properly so called. 'Most clerks of the Imperial offices,' says Blochmann (p. 20, f.n. 1), 'the painters of the court, the foremen in Akbar's workshops, etc., belonged to this corps.' 'Many of them [the *Aḥadīs*],' he says elsewhere (p. 246), 'were on staff employ in the various offices, store-houses, Imperial workshops; others were employed as adjutants and carriers of important orders.' 'Unter Akbar wurden sie', says Dr. Horn, 'nur sehr selten in grösserer Masse im Kriege verwendet, besonders nicht, wenn der Kaiser nicht selbst mit im Felde war, und dienten gewöhnlich einzeln als Feldjäger u. dgl.' (p. 20).

Practice in this respect seems, however, to have varied, for we notice that in Shāh Jahān's reign *Aḥadīs* were often sent into the fighting line, where they were well distributed over the different parts of the army. As many as 5,000 *Aḥadīs* accompanied each one of the three expeditions sent by the Emperor to Kandahar (1649-53 A.C.). The numbers thus contributed generally consisted of *Barq-andaz* and *Tir-andaz Aḥadīs*, half and half.

Irvine speaks of the *Yakka-tāz*, which term was possibly used as an equivalent for an *Aḥadī*. Again, the bodyguard, or defenders of the imperial person, he tells us, were the men called *Wala Shāhī*, and these he further proceeds to distinguish from *Yasāwals* or armed palace guards.

The household troops, he says on the authority of *Siyar*, amounted, towards the end of the eighteenth century, 'to 40,000 men, all cavalry, but usually serving on foot in the citadel and in the palace. They consisted then of several corps besides the *Aḥadīs*, such as the *Surkh-posh* (wearers of red), the *Sultānī* (Royal), the *Wala Shāhī* (High Imperial), the *Kamal-posh* (Blanket Wearers).' (p. 44).

We do not meet with these names in histories of the earlier period. The presumption is that these bodies came into existence in the later Mughal times.

The number of *Aḥadīs* in Akbar's time is not known. In Jahāngīr's reign the number was, according to De Laët (*Empire of the Great Mogol*, 113), 4,441, and, according to Hawkins (*Purchas*, iii, 30), 5,000.

We know from *B.N.* (II, 715) that the total number of *Aḥadīs* in Shāh Jahān's time, or rather at the end of the 20th regnal year, was 7,000.

There was a separate establishment for the *Aḥadīs*, with a *Dīwān*, a *Bakhshi*, and the rest. At their head was one of the great amirs.

The candidates were presented direct to the Emperor. In case of acceptance the usual procedure of *yād-dāshī* and *ta'liqa* was followed, descriptive roll was prepared, and the salary fixed. Then the security was taken; and once more the applicant was presented to the Emperor, who often increased the salary originally fixed.

The *Aḥadīs* were mustered every four months.

The *Aḥadī* generally found his own horse at the beginning of service; but later, if a substitute became necessary, it was supplied by Government, either free or at a price. Horses of *Aḥadīs* who were dead¹ were often thus given away to other *Aḥadīs* who had lost a horse. (*Ā'in*, Text, I, 158; Blochmann, 161-62).

III PIADAGĀN OR 'INFANTRY'

As a part of the fighting strength of the empire, this arm of the service was insignificant. But it is not really correct to render the word '*Piādagān*' by 'infantry'. It is true that these *Piādagān* included the force called *Piāda tufangchī wa bāndār*, which often accompanied the rest of the army to the battle-field, and also some *Dakhilī* troops. But the *Piādagān* included also many other classes of men who had no more to do with fighting than a modern civil servant. Irvine, following the historians of the later Mughal period, translates 'infantry' by '*Aḥshām*'—a word not used in this technical sense in the earlier period. We are following Abū'l-Faẓl in retaining the term *Piādagān*.

We give below, in outline, Abū'l-Faẓl's classified description of the *Piādagān*, drawing upon other authorities, where available, for illustration and corroboration:

(1) *Bundūqchīs* (Matchlock-bearers)

¹ *Raftagān* is the word in text.

A *bitikchī*, a treasurer, and a *dārogḥa* formed the establishment. The senior *Bundūqchīs* (*Sar-guroh*) got a higher pay—from 260 *dāms* to 300 *dāms p.m.* The salary of the rest ranged from 110 *d.* to 250 *d. p.m.* (*Ā'in*, Text, I, 188). It will be noticed that this pay, ranging between three and seven rupees a month, is miserable. See Bernier's remarks about the quality of this service quoted later.

This is practically the only class which may be described as infantry.

The total number in Akbar's time was 12,000 (*ibid.*).

According to *B. N.* (II, 715), Shāh Jahān's army included, at the end of 20th regnal year, 40,000 *tufangchīs*, gunners, and *bān-dārs*, 10,000 of which were at court, the remaining 30,000 being in the provinces and in fortresses.

A number of this infantry, varying from 9,000 to 10,000, accompanied each of the three expeditions to Kandahar already referred to.

Bernier has the following about the matchlock-men:

'The foot-soldiers receive the smallest pay; and, to be sure, the musketeers cut a sorry figure at the best of times, which may be said to be when squatting on the ground, and resting their muskets on a kind of wooden fork which hangs to them. Even then, they are terribly afraid of burning their eyes or their long beards, and above all lest some *Dgen*, or evil spirit, should cause the bursting of their musket. Some have twenty *roupies* a month, some fifteen, some ten. (p. 217).

These salaries are much higher than the scale quoted from *Ā'in* above.

Bernier, talking of the infantry, continues: 'I do not think that in the army immediately about the King, the number can exceed fifteen thousand, including musketeers, foot artillery, and generally, every person connected with that artillery. From this, an estimate may be formed of the number of infantry in the provinces.' (p. 219.)

(2) *Darbāns* (Porters).

One thousand of these guarded the palace.

(3) *Khidmatīya*.

One thousand *Khidmatīya* remained alert round the *Daulat-khāna*, and awaited orders.—The caste to which they belonged was notorious for highway robbery and theft. They were formerly known as *Māwts*.

Jahāngir mentions these as *Piādahā-i-khidmatīya* in *Tūzuk*, p. 303 (R. and B., II, 152). Their chief in time of Akbar had the title 'Khidmat Rāi.' In *Tūzuk Rāi Mān* is mentioned as their head (*Sardār-i-Piādahā-i-khidmatīya*). [Text, p. 205 (R. and B., I, 414), p. 268 (R. and B., II, 83), and p. 303 (R. and B., II, 152)].

(4) *Mewras*.

These also numbered one thousand, and came from Mewāt. They were fast runners, could fetch and carry across long distances, and were expert at detective work.

According to Khāfi Khān (*M.L.*, I, 243) Akbar was the first to introduce a regular service of *Dak Mewras*.

Couriers are thus described by Father Monserrate: 'Amongst the despatch-runners are certain couriers who in one day can run on foot as far as a horseman can ride at full speed. They are said to have their livers removed in infancy, in order to prevent their suffering from shortness of breath. They practise running in shoes made of lead, or train themselves by repeatedly lifting their feet and moving their legs (whilst remaining standing still in one place) till their heels touch their buttocks. When their leaden shoes are removed, they are seen to be magnificent runners, by the help of whose swiftness the King can very rapidly and regularly obtain news or send orders on any matter touching the peace of his realm.' (Monserrate, 212).

Is Father Monserrate here referring to the *Dak Mewras* we are talking of?

(5) *Shamsherbaz*.

Bravery and agility were their distinguishing characteristics. They could perform remarkable feats of arms. Different classes of these specialized in certain feats and tricks, and in particular ways of offence and defence.

Their skill and courage, on which Abū'l-Faẓl dwells with eloquence, must have made them an acquisition to the fighting line.

Yet the *Shamsherbaz* denotes more a profession than a service; for we are told that the total number exceeded 100,000, of which a picked 1,000 was always ready for service at court.

The *Sadī* (commander of 100) of these held the rank of an *Aḥadī* or a still higher one. The monthly salary of a *shamsherbaz* ranged from 80 to 600 *dāms*,

Sword-play continued to be a favourite profession in India down to quite recent times. For quotations from eye-witnesses of exhibitions of single-stick and sword-play in India as late as the first half of the nineteenth century, see Irvine, *Army*, 186.

(6) Wrestlers.

Persian and Tūrānī wrestlers and boxers, Indian athletes, performers of Gujarāt known as *mals*¹, stone-throwers and others constituted this number. Wrestling matches were daily witnessed at court. The pay of a wrestler was between 70 and 450 *dāms p. m.*

(7) *Chelas* (Slaves).

These were originally, apparently, prisoners of war, or children rescued from famine—in many cases Hindus converted to Islam.

The *Chelas* were divided into sections, subjected to a systematic training at court, and finally brought up to a career of useful service. Many from each section were promoted to other ranks of the army, and some even attained to an amirate.

The pay of a *Chela* ran from a *dām* to a rupee *per diem*.

Is Manucci referring to these *Chelas* when he says:

'It is the habit of these kings to have usually in their service seven thousand slaves of different nations, and some among them are established as chiefs to govern and guide the rest. The king gives them names, and in my time these chief slaves were called as follows.' After a list of names he continues: 'These are the names of the king's principal slaves. They are all gentlemen troopers, and have good pay. Set over all the slaves are two captains, and the horse-men are three thousand in number, the foot or infantry four thousand. They have various employments, both within the household and in other duties connected with it. They are resorted to when some *coup* has been decided on; it is they who write about it, and execute the royal commands. In addition, they are used as spies to report what is going on, as well among the nobles as the common people.' (*Storia*, II, 357-58).

It appears that the *Chelas* were entertained not only by the emperor but also by the princes and the nobles. 'Among the slaves of the princes are some who are gentlemen soldiers and hold good positions. Some are purchased, others offer themselves to serve in

¹ *Mal* is 'a professional wrestler or boxer (the offspring of an outcast Kshatriya by a Kshatriya woman), a pancratiast; prize-fighter; an athlete; a gymnast; a tumbler; an acrobat.' (Platt, 1061).

that station.' (*Storia*, II, 412). 'As a counterpoise to the mercenaries in their employ', says Irvine, 'over whom they had a very loose hold, commanders were in the habit of getting together, as the kernel of their force, a body of personal dependents or slaves, who had no one to look to except their master. Such troops were known by the Hindī name of *chela* (a slave). They were fed, clothed, and lodged by their employer, had mostly been brought up and trained by him, and had no other home than his camp. They were recruited chiefly from children taken in war or bought from their parents during times of famine. The great majority were of Hindu origin, but all were made Mahomedans when received into the body of *chelas*. These *chelas* were the only troops on which a man could place entire reliance as being ready to follow his fortunes in both foul and fair weather.' (*Army*, 11),

(8) *Kahārs* (Litter-bearers).

These bore the *pālki*, the *singhāsan*, the *chaudol* and the *doli*. Their special skill lay in the fact that they carried their heavy burden up hill and down dale with the utmost comfort to the rider.

The best *Kahārs* came from the Deccan and from Bengal.—Several thousand *Kahārs* were always at court.

Pay of the head *Kahār*: 192 *d.* to 384 *d.* Pay of an ordinary *Kahār*: 120 *d.* to 160 *d.*

(9) *Dakhili* foot-soldiers.

A number of these, though paid by the state, were handed over to the *umārā*. Though really infantry, they were classed as *nīma-suwārān* (half-cavalry), and their descriptive rolls kept.

One-quarter of the number were matchlock-bearers, and the rest mainly bow-men—the odd proportion being made up by such miscellany as carpenters, blacksmiths, water-carriers, and pioneers¹—useful camp-followers.

A non-commissioned officer (*sar-guroh*) of the matchlock-men drew 160 *d.*, and the common matchlock-men only 140 *d.* The *mīrdahas* of the archers got from 120 to 180 *dams*, and the common archers from 100 to 120.

Irvine tells us (*Army*, 160) that these *dakhili* troops are not heard of from Aurangzeb's reign on.

¹ The duty of these *beldārs* was to sink wells for the royal camp and to dig trenches, etc. In hilly tracts the *beldārs* were sent in advance of the rest of the army to make the way.

IV. ARTILLERY

Artillery was not an important branch of the army prior to Aurangzeb's time.

Humāyūn's artillery at the battle of Kanauj (1540 A.C.) is thus described:—

'Among the equipments which were in the train of the Emperor were 700 carriages (*gardun*), each drawn by four pairs of bullocks, and carrying a swivel (*zarb-zan*), which discharged a ball (*kalola*) of 500 *mithkāl*s weight. I, myself, saw several times that from the top of an eminence they unfailingly (*bi-khatā*) struck horsemen who slightly and unsuspectingly exposed themselves. And there were twenty-one carriages, each drawn by eight¹ pairs of bullocks. Stone balls were of no use in these, but the shots were of molten brass weighing 5,000 *mithkāl*s, and the cost of each was 200 *mithkāl*s of silver. They would strike anything that was visible at the distance of a *parasang*.' (*Tarikh-i-Rashidi* of Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlāt, trans. by E. D. Ross and N. Elias, London, 1895, p. 474.)

In Akbar's time this arm of the service was so unimportant that Abū'l-Faẓl has not much to say about it in the *Ā'in*. The scholar-minister talks rather grandiloquently of large pieces of ordnance, which took several elephants and thousands of bullocks to transport, and the balls of which weighed twelve maunds; and speaks thus of certain inventions of Akbar: 'He made a gun which, on marches, can easily be taken to pieces, and properly put again together when required. By another invention, His Majesty joins seventeen guns in such a manner as to be able to fire them simultaneously with one match.² Again, he made another kind of gun, which can easily be carried by a single elephant; such guns have the name of *Gajnāls*. Guns which a single man may carry, are called *Narnāls*.'³ (Text, I, 124; Blochmann, 112-3). 'His Majesty has made special guns,' continues the author, 'for the siege of fortresses and for naval engagements;

¹ Irvine reads 60 for 8.

² Apparently a precursor of the *Arghān* or *Arghūn* 'which is composed of about 36 gun barrels so joined as to fire at once' (Irvine, *Army*, 138), cognate with a *mitrailleuse*. (Horn, 30).

³ Dr. Horn is presumably quite right in holding that the *Narnāls* 'waren wohl keine Kanonen sondern nur eine Art schwerer Musketen' (p. 28).

while those fit for the imperial camp accompany the Emperor.' ¹ (Text, I, 125).

The personnel of the artillery is briefly disposed of thus: 'Amirs and Ahadis are on staff employ in this branch. The pay of the foot varies from 100 to 400 *d.*' (Text, 125; Blochmann, 113).

It strikes one as strange, however, that the artillery and its personnel, which obviously formed part of the army, finds no place in Book II of the *Ā'in*, which deals with the Army. The artillery and some matchlock-men are included in Book I, while such unmilitary classes as porters, valets (footmen), runners, gladiators, wrestlers, slaves and litter-bearers, who never served in, or even behind, the fighting-line, are grouped together under *Piādagān* in Book II.

Irvine's explanation (*Army*, 155 and 160-1) that all officers and men borne on the books of the imperial household are included in Book I, while Book II comprises only the part of the army which was not paid direct from the imperial treasury, but through the intervention of the *manṣabdār*, is insufficient; since *Ahadis* and all the *Piādagān* were paid direct by the Emperor and yet figure in Book II. On Irvine's hypothesis only *manṣabdārs* and their followers should be in Book II, while *Ahadis*, artillery and *Piādagān* should all be included in Book I.²

Irvine's position that 'the artillery was much more perfect and numerous in 'Ālamgīr's reign, than it was under his great-grandfather, Akbar,' (p. 116), is unassailable. There is no doubt that the development of artillery in the Mughal army which began in Aurangzeb's reign, was due in the main to contact with the European armies and the service of Portuguese gunners.

In Jahāngīr's reign, we are told ³ that Patr Dās, on being appointed *Mīr Ātish* (Master of Ordnance), was ordered to have in the Artillery of the Stirrup always ready 3,000 pieces of ordnance, with 50,000 gunners;—a large number, one would think, for the Stirrup Artillery, but not impossible, since it seems to have been a special measure, and for the maintenance of it, as Shāh Nawāz Khān tells us (*M.U.*, II, 140), the revenue of 15 *parganas* was assigned.

¹ For this sentence I am preferring my own translation to Blochmann's, which seems to me inaccurate.

² It has been suggested to me as a possible explanation that artillery was not yet recognized as a separate arm.

³ *Tūzūk*, 9-10. R. and B.'s translation (I, 22-3) is defective, but is faithfully copied by Blochmann (p. 470).

The number of guns with which Humāyūn and Jahāngīr are credited would suggest that the Mughal artillery was in a high state of efficiency, and furnished a formidable weapon. This, however, was not the case. 'Of this arm of the service,' says Irvine, 'it is doubtful whether the Moghuls knew much before they descended into the plains of India under Bābar. What they did know was probably borrowed from the Turks and from Constantinople. Nor could the art and science of gunnery have been very advanced in India itself, when the Moghuls arrived in that country in the first half of the 16th century. In the earlier Moghul period, at any rate, the emperors were dependent for their artillery on the help and instruction of Rūmīs, that is, Mahomedans from Constantinople, or of Farangis, principally runaway sailors from Sūrāt, or Portuguese half-castes.' (*Army*, 152).

Considerable bodies of the Portuguese continued to be enlisted up to the middle of the eighteenth century.

Dr. Horn thus in similar strain: 'Das Artilleriewesen (*Tupchâne*), war unter Bāber durchaus nach türkischem Muster eingerichtet, wie denn die Türken hierin im muhammedanischen Orient überhaupt die Lehrmeister gewesen sind.....Noch unter Akbar ward das Geschützwesen mit Vorliebe Türken anvertraut, bis an deren Stelle dann allmählich Europäer traten.' (p. 29.)

The artillerymen, says Bernier, 'receive great pay, particularly all the *Frangis* or Christians,—*Portuguese, English, Dutch, Germans, and French*; fugitives from *Goa*, and from the *Dutch* and *English* companies. Formerly, when the *Mogols* were little skilled in the management of artillery, the pay of the *Europeans* was more liberal, and there are still some remaining who receive two hundred *roupies* a month: but now the King admits them with difficulty into the service, and limits their pay to thirty-two *roupies*.' (p. 217).

Abū'l-Faẓl, as we have already seen, speaks respectfully of Turkey's artillery; and we hear a great deal of Portuguese and other European gunners in state employ throughout Mughal history.

The artillery consisted of the 'heavy' and the 'light'.

The heavy artillery, early in Aurangzeb's reign, consisted, according to Bernier, of 'seventy pieces of cannon, mostly of brass'. (p. 217). Under heavy artillery were also included 'from two to three hundred light camels, each of which carried a small field-piece of the size of a double musket, attached on the back of the animal, much in

the same manner as swivels are fixed in our barks.' (pp. 217-18). These were *Shutarnals*. So 'heavy artillery' was only a technical term, and was not confined to the larger pieces.

'The Moghuls', says Irvine, 'were very fond of large ordnance, but such pieces were really more for show than use; and as Fitzclarence truly says, 243, the oriental idea seems to have been "to render this destructive engine from its size more powerful than those of the Western world." In this direction they proceeded even to extravagant lengths. These huge guns made more noise than they did harm; they could not be fired many times in a day, and were very liable to burst and destroy the men in charge.' (*Army*, 118.)

The large pieces had often high-sounding, mouth-filling names, and usually bore on them inscriptions giving the name of the founder and place and date of manufacture. See the long list of names of the principal cannon at Mughal court in Aurangzeb's time in *Storia* (II, 365-66). For an inscription on the gun, *Jahānkushā*, made at Dacca in the reign of Shāh Jahān, see 'Translation of an Inscription on a Gun at Moorshedabad with Remarks', by Major St. G. D. Showers in *J.A.S.B.*, xvi, 589-92.

Field-pieces were, generally speaking, heavier than fort- and siege-guns.

The Light Artillery, otherwise called *Topkhāna-i-rikāb* or Artillery of the Stirrup, is thus described by Bernier: 'The artillery of the stirrup, which also accompanied the *Mogol* in the journey to *Lahor* and *Kachemire*, appeared to me extremely well appointed. It consisted of fifty or sixty small field-pieces, all of brass; each piece mounted on a well-made and handsomely painted carriage, containing two ammunition chests, one behind and another in front, and ornamented with a variety of small red streamers. The carriage, with the driver, was drawn by two fine horses, and attended by a third horse, led by an assistant driver as a relay. The heavy artillery did not always follow the King, who was in the habit of diverging from the highroad, in search of hunting-ground, or for the purpose of keeping near the rivers and other waters. It could not move along difficult passes, or cross the bridges of boats thrown over the rivers. But the light artillery is always intended to be near the King's person and on that account takes the name of Artillery of the Stirrup. When he resumes his journey in the morning, and is disposed to shoot or hunt in game

preserves, the avenues to which are guarded, it moves straight forward, and reaches with all possible speed the next place of encampment, where the royal tents and those of the principal *Omrahs* have been pitched since the preceding day. The guns are then ranged in front of the King's quarters, and by way of signal to the army, fire a volley the moment he arrives.' (p. 218).

What has happened, one might ask, to the 3,000 pieces of light ordnance, which Patr Dās had placed on a permanent footing in obedience to Jahāngīr's orders early in his reign? Was the number cut down later?

We have already noted that all the pieces included under 'heavy' artillery were not heavy. Irvine's remark, therefore, that the Artillery of the Stirrup was rather a sub-division of the light artillery than identical with it (*Army*, 133) is fully justified.

The artillery was one of the imperial workshops, and, as the workshops formed part of the imperial household (which was controlled by the *Khānsāmān*), the head of the Artillery, i.e., the *Darogha-i-Topkhāna* or *Mir Ālish*, was under the *Khānsāmān*. It is to be noted, however, that this applied only to the manufacturing department and the magazine or ordnance department. In case of the field artillery in actual use and of guns in use in fortresses the *Mir Ālish* held independent charge. (*Army*, 113). Again, 'all reserve artillery and stores were kept in certain great fortresses, such as Āgrah, Dihlī and Lāhor, in the charge of the special commandant (*qila'hdār*), who was an officer appointed direct from court and in no way connected with or subordinate to the provincial governor (*nāzim* or *subahdār*).' (*Ibid.*, 156-7).

ESTIMATE OF THE TOTAL STRENGTH OF THE ARMY

Having surveyed the various departments constituting the Mughal army, we naturally feel inclined to ask what was the total strength of the military organization. The question has been examined by various writers such as Blochmann (pp. 244-7 and pp. 528-37), Paul Horn (pp. 39-45), and Irvine (*Army*, pp. 59-61).

Blochmann's conclusions about Akbar's army (pp. 245-6), on which both Horn and Irvine rely, are vitiated by certain fundamental misapprehensions, and seem arbitrary. Neither Blochmann nor later

writers seem to have noticed that the list in *Ā'in* 30 of the *Ā'in* refers only to the *ẓāt* rank, and is therefore utterly useless for any calculation of the strength of the army.

The same remark applies to the list in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

The figures for the reign of Jahāṅgīr have not been attempted by any one. The numbers of the *manṣabdārs* in that reign given by De Laët (113), if correct—and we have no means of checking them—refer in all probability to the *ẓāt* rank, and therefore give no help towards calculation of the cavalry.

Since we have not sufficient data to arrive at even tolerably satisfactory results regarding the reign of Akbar or of Jahāṅgīr, and since we are more immediately concerned with the reign of Shāh Jahān, we propose to concentrate our attention on an estimate of the army during the latter reign.

Mullā 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd Lāhorī, surveying the imperial army at the end of the twentieth regnal year, informs us with business-like succinctness and precision so usual with him, that the army (excluding the numbers appointed with *faujdārs*, *karorīs* and *'āmil*s to administer the *parganas*) amounts, under the one-fourth rule, to 200,000 horse, which comprise 8,000 *Manṣabdārs*, 7,000 *Aḥadīs* and *Barq-andāz* horsemen, 1,85,000 horsemen (followers of Princes, *Umarā* and *Manṣabdārs*), and 40,000 infantry (*ṭufangchī*, *ṭop-andāz*, *gola-andāz*, and *bāndār*), out of which 10,000 were at court, and the rest in the provinces and in forts. (*B. N.*, II, 715).

The carefully-prepared list of the *Manṣabdārs* at the end of twentieth regnal year given on pp. 717–52 of *B. N.*, II, practically constitutes the Army List of the empire for that date, and is an invaluable document. This list includes names of all officers of the rank of 500 and above, whether dead or alive at the time of its preparation, showing in each case whether the officer is alive. The list, as usual, is arranged in the order of the *ẓāt* rank; but the *suwār* rank is carefully given in all cases where that rank is enjoyed.

From such a list it is possible to construct the total strength of the cavalry; while it enables us to check the totals of the war effective given by 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd Lāhorī in the passage quoted above.

For the purpose of estimating the cavalry we ignore the *ẓāt* rank, and add up the *suwār* ranks of all the officers living at the time, excluding

for the moment the *du aspa sih aspa suwār* rank. We find that the total of *yak aspa* horse rank amounts to 3,70,825.—Next we take the *du aspa sih aspa* figures. These total 76,000. As we know, this figure has to be doubled; so that it means 1,52,000 'horse'.

The sum total of the *yak aspa* and *du aspa sih aspa* ranks, therefore, is $3,70,825 + 1,52,000 = 5,22,825$ 'horse'. The reader knows well that this figure does not represent the number of cavalry actually entertained, but only the sum total of the horse rank. The actual number can be obtained by the one-third, one-fourth and one-fifth rule. The one-fifth rule was probably a concessionary measure; while the one-third rule applied to a small number. Calculating by the one-fourth rule, therefore, we arrive at 1,30,706 as the number of horsemen. Making allowance for the few who held appointments in the provinces where their *jāgīrs* lay, and who were governed by the one-third rule, 1,35,000 will be a safe figure for the total cavalry.

We should not forget that this is the total following of the *manṣabdārs* of 500 and above only. Counting up the names of those reported as alive in the list, we find that this following belonged to 445 officers. 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd Lāhorī has already informed us that the total number of *manṣabdārs* was 8,000, while their total *ṭābīns* numbered 185,000. We know, therefore, that the *manṣabdārs* under the rank of 500 totalled 7,555, and their following approximately 50,000.

The results can now also be stated in a tabular form :—

STATEMENT SHOWING TOTAL STRENGTH OF *MANṢABDĀRS*
AND THEIR FOLLOWERS AT END OF 20TH REGNAL
YEAR OF SHĀH JAHĀN.

<i>Ẓāt</i> rank.	Total number of <i>Manṣabdārs</i> (including Princes).	Total rank.			Actual number of horsemen entertained.
		<i>Yak aspa</i> .	<i>Du aspa sih aspa</i> .	Total with <i>du aspa sih aspa</i> rank doubled.	
500 and above	445	3,70,825	76,000	5,22,825	1,35,000 (approximately)
Below 500	7,555	...	...	...	50,000 (approximately)
Total ..	8,000	...	...	...	185,000

We find that the total figures quoted from *B. N.* above fit in beautifully with the deductions from the *Manṣabdārī* list.

These results, again, are on all fours with the following statement in Bernier: 'Leaving out of our present calculation the infantry, which is of small amount, and the number of horses, which is merely nominal, and is apt to deceive a superficial observer, I should think, with many persons well conversant with this matter, that the effective cavalry, commonly about the King's person, including that of the *Rajas* and *Patans*, amount to thirty-five or forty thousand; which, added to those in the provinces, forms a total of more than two hundred thousand horse.' (219).

Again, talking of infantry, the author continues: 'I do not think that in the army immediately about the King, the number can exceed fifteen thousand, including musketeers, foot artillery, and generally, every person connected with that artillery. From this, an estimate may be formed of the number of infantry in the provinces. I cannot account for the prodigious amount of infantry with which some people swell the armies of the *Great Mogol*, otherwise than by supposing that with the fighting men, they confound servants, sutlers, tradesmen, and all those individuals belonging to *bazars*, or markets, who accompany the troops. Including these followers, I can well conceive that the army immediately about the King's person, particularly when it is known that he intends to absent himself for some time from his capital, may amount to two, or even three hundred thousand infantry. This will not be deemed an extravagant computation, if we bear in mind the immense quantity of tents, kitchens, baggage, furniture, and even women, usually attendant on the army. For the conveyance of all these are again required many elephants, camels, oxen, horses, and porters.' (219-20.)

Another way of forming an idea of the military strength of an empire is to take measure of an effort put forth by it on an occasion sufficiently important to be considered typical. The sieges of Kandahar were probably the most serious military operations undertaken by the State during the reign of *Shāh Jahān*. We give below the details of the army (cavalry, infantry and artillery) and its equipment sent to Kandahar on three several occasions for the purpose of laying siege to that stronghold. For brevity the information is presented in a tabular form:—

ARMY AND EQUIPMENT SENT TO BESIEGE KANDAHAR (1649-53.)

	<i>Manṣabdārs</i> and their followers	Infantry	<i>Aḥādīs</i>	Artillery	Transport
First expedition (1649 A. C.)	50,000 cavalry according to one-fifth, or 60,000 cavalry according to one-fourth rule.	10,000 <i>Tufangchīs</i> and <i>Bāndārs</i> .	5,000		
Second expedition (1652 A. C.)		9,000 <i>Tufangchīs</i> and <i>Bāndārs</i> .	2,600 <i>Barq-andāz</i> and 2,000 <i>Tir-andāz</i> (archers.)	8 big siege guns. 20 smaller ordnance (which took balls weighing 2 or 2½ seers). 20 <i>kathnāls</i> . 100 <i>shutarnāls</i> .	500 carrying treasure 500 carrying arms 3,000 camels 2,000 carrying ammunition.
Third expedition (1653 A. C.)	56,000 cavalry according to one-fifth, or 70,000 cavalry according to one-fourth rule.	10,000 <i>Tufangchīs</i> , <i>Bāndārs</i> and gunners.	2,500 <i>Barq-andāz</i> 2,500 <i>Tir-andāz</i> (bowmen).	7 big siege guns, some of which took ball of 2 maunds: (1) 'Kishwar kushā' (ball: 1m. 8s. Akbari). (2) 'Garh bajhan' (ball: 1 m. 8 s. Akbari). (3) 'Top-i-klān' (ball: 1 m. 16 s. Akbari).—These three cast by Dara Shukoh's orders. (4) 'Qal' a-kushā, (5) 'Maryam' and two others sent from court. 7 <i>top-i-kawāṭ</i> , ¹ made to Dara Shukoh's order. 30 smaller ordnance.	3,000 camels for loading treasure, ammunition and arms.

1.—A kind of ordnance apparently mounted on a tree or other eminence, and then fired. See *M. L.*, 11, 226.

ARMY AND EQUIPMENT SENT TO BESIEGE KANDAHAR (1649-53)—(Continued.)

	<i>Manṣabdārs</i> and their followers	Infantry	<i>Aḥadās</i>	Artillery	Transport
Third expedition (1653 A. C.)				25 <i>gajnāls</i>. 100 <i>shularnāls</i>. 30,000 cannon balls (large and small) 5,000 maunds of gun-powder. 1,500 maunds of lead (imperial measure). 14,000 <i>bānz</i>. In addition to these the artillery which had been used at Kan- dahar in the second siege had remained at Kabul. At least five of those big guns joined the besieging army at Kanda- har, reaching there under Ghairat Khan. Total number of cannon balls discharged during the siege : 27,000.	

The information summarized here is given almost exactly as found in Muḥammad Wāriṣ, *B.N.*, III, (P.U.L. MS.) ff. 23b-24a, 61b-64a, 73a-73b., etc.

From the entries in the second column it appears that the figures are not those of the roll-call, but are calculated from the total *manṣab* of the officers nominated to serve in the army.

The reader need hardly be told that total cavalry will be obtained by adding up the figures in col. 2 and col. 4.

NOTE

Since writing the above I have seen Mr. Ram Prasad Tripathi's article on 'The Army Organization of Akbar' in *Indian Historical Records Commission* (Proceedings of Meetings), vol. v., January 1923, pp. 56-66. The author does not refer to any new sources, and has made no new use of old ones. In fact it seems he has not succeeded in disentangling himself from any of the misunderstandings that beset all the previous workers we have been discussing in this and the last chapter.

The Genesis of the Din-i-Ilahi

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THE sixteenth century is a century of religious revival in the history of the world. The grand currents of the Reformation compare favourably with the surging-up of a new life in India. India experienced an awakening that quickened her progress and vitalized her national life. The dominant note of this awakening was Love and Liberalism—Love that united man to God, and therefore to his brother man, and Liberalism, born of this love that levelled down the barrier of caste, creed and calling, and took its stand on the bed-rock of human existence and essence of all religions, Universal brotherhood. With glorious ideals it inspired the Hindu and Muslim alike, and they forgot for a time the trivialities of their creed. To the Muslim as to the Hindu, it heralded the dawn of a new era, to the Muslim with the birth of the promised Mahdi, to the Hindu with the realization of the all-absorbing love of God.

The beginning of the sixteenth century recorded the advent of two new peoples into India—the Mughals and the Europeans, the one as conquerors, the other as partly conquerors and partly traders. They brought with them their own culture, and tried to impose it on the country; but the Mughal succeeded, and the European failed. That was due not only to the enormous political power that backed the Mughal culture, but to its essentially kindred nature, that endeared it to the people and its suitability to the needs of the time and genius of India. At this time however, India was evolving one of her own, and her task was facilitated by her contact with the Mughals. They supplied the leaven, and the result was the splendid outburst of the literary and artistic genius of India. Indeed in the whole length of Indian history we do not come across another century within whose compass such a gamut of religious movements rose to blend their

notes and enrich each other. The Vaishnavas, the Mahdavis and the Roshnis propounded great truths and inspired men with new hopes and ideals. They sang of their immortal themes, and preached their priceless realizations with an earnestness and eloquence, that made the very atmosphere throb with feeling. The transient joys and sorrows of life were to be consecrated, the limitations of mortality to be transcended and the follies of man to be forgotten, such were their inspired teachings. Into such an elevating atmosphere entered the Mughals bringing with them their great heritage of culture and refinement. Drinking freely of the fountain of Sufism, they always took a broad and liberal view of life, and developed the habit of thinking freely and thereby detaching themselves from the narrow bounds of orthodoxy. Thus they aided the trend of the times, and exercised a synthesizing influence, helping to produce a new culture, that has lived through centuries, long after their sceptre had crumbled to the dust.

Babar and Humayun showed this trait of their character, but neither of them lived sufficiently long and in peace to make any impression on or take the impress of Indian thought. But Akbar did both; he took the impress of, and left his impress on, India. In this sense Akbar was essentially an Indian monarch, though a foreigner in India. He inherited great traditions of culture and conquest, and like his father and grandfather had come into close contact with the Sufis. Intelligent to an uncommon degree, with a mind alert and inquisitive, he was best fitted by birth, up-bringing and association to feel most keenly those hankerings and that spiritual unrest which distinguished the century in which he lived. Thus he was not only the child of his century, he was its best replica. To ascertain therefore the variety of influences that moulded his character, and eventually impelled him to found a novel faith—Din-i-Ilahi, the outcome of his eclecticism, an outline of his heredity and environments is necessary; for the former endowed him with those qualities of head and heart that prepared him to receive the impress of his environments, and reflect it in the best possible way.

The descendants of Timur have been not only mighty warriors and empire-builders but were men of enlightenment and scholarship. Their zeal for conquest and achievements in the field has not obliterated the æsthetic side of their life. Timur himself was an ideal for his house. If he made wide conquests to increase the glory of his name,

he extended his patronage as widely to men of learning. Poets and painters, sculptors and historians, philosophers and scientists, all graced his court, and he felt equally at home in their company as in that of his war-hardened soldiers. If he conquered kingdoms, he did so to enrich Samarkand and Bokhara, which became not only the seats of culture in Asia but boasted of beautiful palaces and extensive parks, public baths and garden-houses, colleges and mosques. Even the country around became one stretch of smiling green owing to a network of canals. His unwearied zeal for conquest found ample leisure for conversation with scholars and artists, and great as a builder of empire, he was equally great as a builder of the seats of culture. His son Shah-rukh inherited his father's great qualities. Besides being the ruler of a vast empire he was a great lover of the peaceful pursuits of life. 'Through, India China and Tartary and even some western countries went his emissaries of peace, gathering knowledge for him, inviting scholars to his court, and by well-doing only spreading the fame of the peace-loving Shah-rukh.'¹ Ulugh Beg, his son proved himself not unworthy of his house. He was a great soldier, but his achievements in the field have been eclipsed by his achievements in science. He encouraged the cause of science by building an observatory at the foot of a mountain in Samarkand, that was three stories high, and very well equipped. He also contributed to the advancement of astronomy by compiling some astronomical tables. Abu Sayyid Mirza of Samarkand and Sultan Hussain Mirza of Herat were also famous for their high attainments, and patronage of art, literature and science. As for Babar it is difficult to exaggerate his many-sided genius. Great as a soldier, great as a conqueror, great as a man, he was equally great as a scholar, as a poet and as a writer of spirited prose. Wherever he went, he went to win the love of the people and to make their country beautiful. In Hindustan, in the din of war, he found time to lay out beautiful gardens. In his tempestuous life he snatched moments of peace to write not only his monumental autobiography, but a Turki diwan (collection of odes), a tract on Turki prosody, and several commentaries in the same language. He was also a skilful musician and a *connoisseur* of art. He was thoroughly conversant with Sufism, the Masnavi being a source of perennial

¹ Von Noer, vol. i, p. 134.

interest for him. Such a combination of wonderful accomplishments has seldom been noticed in any monarch, eastern or western. Though not as accomplished as Babar, Humayun had inherited his faculties in no inconsiderable degree. Besides being a lovable man, essentially good and kind at heart, he possessed a competent knowledge of geography, history, chemistry, music and poetry, as known in those days. He was also a poet of some reputation. And the son of Humayun, grandson of Babar, and the descendant of Timur could not fail to inherit those talents, and tendencies for culture, which are rare among the rulers of men.

But if he was so fortunate on his father's side, he was not less so on his mother's. Chingiz Khan, the greatest conqueror known to history, was not an errant barbarian. He was a learned law-giver, and well-versed in the arts and sciences of the age. Kublai Khan, his descendant, was not only a great conqueror but a versatile scholar. He was no mean linguist, being conversant with Persian, Arabic, Tibetan, Chinese and even Latin. He took immense interest in the progress of art and science, which flourished under his patronage. Yunus Khan, the maternal grandfather of Babar, was again an all-round scholar. His culture had almost wiped off the traces of his Mongol ancestry. He was a poet, painter, penman, musician, scientist, and what not! Akbar's own mother was the daughter of a Persian scholar, who was the descendant of a celebrated saint of Persia. Such were the traditions of the house in which Akbar was born. The culture of the house softened the edge of orthodoxy, and in their attitude towards religion, the later Timurids, especially Babar and Humayun allowed a degree of latitude, that was tantamount to toleration. This was due chiefly to their association with Sufi mystics, many of whom were poets. In order to understand the full significance of the influence of Sufi mysticism on the Timurids, a brief outline of the cult will not be out of place here.

'Most of the Asiatic poets are Sufis' and 'they prefer or profess to prefer, the meditations and ecstasies of mysticism to the pleasures of the world'¹. Their mysticism is based upon the doctrine that God alone is the absolute reality, that the human soul is an emanation from His essence with which it is to be reunited, and that 'the universe is

¹ *Rose Garden of Persia*, p. 44.

nothing more than a combination of accidents united in a single essence in the Truth.¹ God is immanent in all things, and to feel His hallowed presence in them was the heart-felt desire of the Sufis. For this they lived a pure noble life, and discarded all material attachments, and practised deep contemplation or Mushahdah. They had no faith in rituals and, imbued with a deep love for God, they 'held that divine illumination and grace were imparted directly to every soul, and not through the channel of external observances.'² That was why Jalal-ud-din Rumi declared 'fools exalt the mosque while they ignore the true temple in the heart.' Their pure and fervent love of God impelled them to reject all hopes of reward either in this world or in the next, and the cheap worldly righteousness that consists in the scrupulous observance of ablutions, prayers, fastings, etc. They aspired for the beatific vision or union with God in an ecstatic state, which has been considered as the quintessence of all happiness. But the true Sufi should not rest content with the union only. He must try to live continuously in that ecstatic state. As the great Sufi theologian Ghazali said 'you must know that the beginning of the path is the journey to God and that journey in God is its goal, for in this latter, absorption in God takes place. At the outset this glides by like a flash of light barely striking the eye; but thereafter becoming habitual, it lifts the mind into a higher world when the most pure essential Reality is manifested, and the human mind is imbued with the form of the spiritual world, whilst the majesty of the Deity evolves and discloses itself.' This in the Hindu mysticism is the highest stage of Yoga. This state is to be attained by continuous striving, by trying to feel constantly His presence in everything, by purging one's own thought, and centring it on God. Such in brief, are the beliefs and practices of the Sufis.

Inspired by the divine presence in everything, the Sufi poets wrote beautiful verses, that breathed celestial beauty. Thrilled by the touch and sight of their Beloved, they forgot the whole world, and sang immortal songs depicting their experience that is at once so evanescent and so eternal. Maddened by the wine of His love they saw life transformed into one unending dream of joy in which the

¹ *Lawaiah translated by Whinfield and Kazirni*, p. 33.

² *Ibid.*, Preface xii.

evils of life, its sorrows and tears, had no existence at all. They expressed these ecstatic experiences of theirs through the medium of a symbolism that smacks of sensuousness to the uninitiated. They used wine or wine-cup as a symbol of faith or fervent love for God; the cup-bearer as a symbol of God Himself. God is also symbolized as the rose or rose-garden, and the devotee, the nightingale. Through these symbols the Sufi gave form to his sublimest, and therefore the most impalpable feelings of his heart. Whether it be Moasi, the king of poets (eleventh century) singing of his 'lovely fair' or Sadi the 'nightingale of the groves of Shiraz' (thirteenth century), the great, Maulana of Rum (twelfth and thirteenth centuries) or Omar Khayyam (twelfth century) singing of his wine-cup, roses and fair maidens, the inimitable Hafiz (fourteenth century) or the exquisite Jami (fifteenth century) singing of the love of Zuleika for Yusuf, it is the same theme throughout. Consumed by a deep celestial love, they made everything they touched, lovable, and because of them Persian poetry has become so rich to-day. This poetry breathing the sublimest emotions of the poets, and couched in a form of the highest lyric beauty produced wonderful impression on the reader. The Timurids in general, and Babar, Humayun and Akbar in particular, were deeply imbued with the spirit of this poetry. Cultured as they were they appreciated the liberal and sublime creed of the Sufis and learned to look at the facts of life from their angle of vision. That was how Sufism influenced through its beautiful poetry the mind of the early Mughal Emperors of India.

But far more than this was their personal contact with the Sufis. The rise of the Safwi dynasty in Persia inaugurated a period of persecution for all creeds other than Shiaism. The Safwis rose to power as the champions of this faith, and their orthodoxy and zeal to spread it even outside their dominions were obvious in their dealings with Babar and Humayun. From the dominions of such fanatics as these fled away many a Sufi and found shelter in the more congenial atmosphere at first of Samarkand, Bokhara, Hirat and then of Kabul. Babar must have entertained them in his court after those dominions fell under the sway of the Uzbeks and the Persians. Many might have come to the court of Humayun after 1545 attracted by his love of culture and literary patronage. Further, Balkh a famous centre of learning and culture was under Babar and Humayun for some time,

and Khorasan, the birth-place of Jami and Hatifi is close by. Prince Suleiman, a kinsman and a contemporary of Babar, Humayun and Akbar, was a great Sufi master, and tradition has it that he had attained to that coveted stage of mystic progress which is called Sahibihal. While Governor of Badakshan, Humayun might have come into contact with the Sufis, and imbibed their teachings, so that we find him often falling into a frame of mind which inclined him to renounce the worries of the world and retire into a secluded life to spend his days in the pursuit of learning or in the company of holy men. He was kept steady however by the reprimands of his father. Akbar, when young, must have associated with Sufis in the court of Kabul, so that he could recite verses from the Masnavi, and Diwan of the 'Mystic tongue' i.e., of Hafiz.¹ Later on he came into contact with Abdul Latif 'a paragon of learning', who was appointed as his tutor by Bairam Khan. Abdul Latif was noted for his moderate views on religion. The guiding principle of his life was 'Sulh-i-kul' i.e. peace with all, and this he must have imparted to his young pupil then only sixteen.

But when Akbar was being prepared by heredity and early associations to rule successfully over diverse peoples of an extensive empire, of which he was the real founder, a great religious ferment was going on in the country. The Bhakti and Mahdavi movements had taken a strong hold of the popular mind and they were supplemented by another of the Roshnis. They all taught and were founded on one great truth, viz., the brotherhood of man. The Vaishnav's was an emotional creed, while the Mahdavi's and the Roshni's was an austere creed. While the former thrilled to think that everything was his Beloved and therefore his very life was a consecration, the latter enjoined rigorous practice of asceticism and constant warfare with the flesh to attain to the beatific vision. These creeds must have exerted tremendous influence on the mind of Akbar. For aught we know of his keen interest in the things about him, it may be surmised that Vaishnavism might have impressed him by its similarity with Sufism, and the Mahdavi and Roshni movements might have prompted him to assume the role of a prophet—the promised Mahdi. A brief outline of these movements therefore is essential here.

¹ *Akbarnama*, vol. i, p. 520.

The Bhakti movement or Vaishnavism 'owes its origin to the stream of thought which began with the Upanishads and culminated in the east in Buddhism and Jainism, and arose about the time of the latter.'¹ It was based upon 'the ideas of a Supreme God and devotion to Him as the mode of salvation.' This system was started as a counter-blow to the atheistic and rigidly ethical religions like Buddhism. In the fourth century B.C. Megasthenes referred to it as the religion of the people of Sourasena. The most eloquent exposition of its principles is in the Bhagwad Gita, and 'the programme that it proposes is, on the one hand that we purify our minds purging them of all attachments and passions by dedicating all the fruits of our actions to God; and yet on the other hand that we continue to perform all the duties belonging to our particular caste or stage of life. . . . A life dedicated to God and lived for and in love of Him, is a life which is inevitably ennobled to the highest degree.'² Self-surrender to and concentration on God are enjoined just as in the Yoga system of Patanjali, but in this idea of love of God, the emotional side is entirely absent. In the Vishnu Puran is depicted the wonderful Bhakti or devotion of Prahlad to Hari for its own sake, not for any reward; but even here the feeling element seems to be absent. Further, the great controversialist of the ninth century A.D., Shankar laid the axe at the root of all emotional love of God and piety when he expounded his famous Maya doctrine, and proved that the world is unreal. Ramanuja however, in the eleventh century most successfully controverted Shankar and laid stress on devotion or Bhakti, in which contemplation and communion were more prominent than any exuberance of feeling.³ About the same time (eleventh century) we meet with a new idea of this Bhakti in the Bhagwat Purana where it is said to be the supreme source of spiritual enjoyment. It 'is no longer the old contemplation or meditation of God stirred by a deep-seated love. It is this ebullition of feelings and emotions of attachment to God. It manifests itself in the soft melting of the heart and expresses itself in tears, inarticulate utterances of speech, laughter, song and dances, such as can be possible through a mad intoxication

¹ *Vaishnavism and Shaivism*, by Bhandarkar, p. 9.

² *Hindu Mysticism*, by Das Gupta, p. 117.

³ *Ibid*, p. 121.

of love.¹ Two principles henceforth form the creed of faith of the Vaishnavas, the one is self-surrender to God, the other a life of God-intoxication. The latter, i.e., the emotional side of Bhakti made a strong appeal to the people, and it permeated the whole society especially when it was presented to them through the symbolism of the love of Radha and Krishna. The mode of presentation was extremely human in its setting, and that was noticed for the first time in the teaching of Nimbarka in the twelfth century. With Nimbarka the way to the eternal beatitude is the Bhakti for the lotus-like feet of Krishna.

'A spirit of sympathy for the lower castes and classes of Hindu society has from the very beginning been the distinguishing feature of Vaishnavism'.² But it was Ramananda (1300-1411 A. D.) who for the first time gave the most liberal scope to this sympathy by admitting all classes and creeds into his fold, and by adopting the vernacular of Northern India to teach his doctrines to the common folk. Of his disciples Kabir was one, Rohidas another and Padmavati a woman, still another. Some of his disciples founded different schools and spread the worship of Rama and Sita over an extensive portion of Northern and Central India. At this stage we discern two branches of Vaishnavism—the Rama cult and the Krishna cult. But while the former was based essentially upon the conception of God as the father, supporter and lord, the latter, on the conception of God as the beloved, the nearest and the dearest. Naturally the Krishna cult appealed more readily to the people and attracted more men than the Rama cult. 'The episodes of Krishna's life in Brindaban are spiritualized. . . . They are interpreted as the eternal, timeless and spaceless play of God with His own associates and His energies, with whom he eternally realizes himself in love and friendship.'³ This LILA of Krishna made his devotees mad with love and joy and Vallabha (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) and Chaitanya (1485-1533 A. D.) were the two greatest exponents of this cult. It spread far and wide into all the parts of India, and wherever it went, it proved irresistible in its fascination for the people. Brahman and Sudra, prince and peasant, Hindu and Muslim, all went mad in love for the cowherd of Brindaban. From

¹ *Hindu Mysticism*, by Das Gupta, p. 124.

² *Vaishnavism and Shaivism*, by Bhandarkar, p. 66.

³ *Hindu Mysticism*, p. 128.

the Muslim lady Taj to Raskhani, from the princess Mira Bai to the beggar Sur Das, all were inspired by a love that levels all distinction of sex, caste, creed or calling. All were equal because they all loved Krishna, and had their being in Him. A reign of all-absorbing love and equality was going to be established and with this great promise dawned the sixteenth century in India.

By the year 1540 all the great religious teachers had passed away. Vallabha must have been dead a few years before or after Chaitanya. Kabir the greatest of the rationalists and a disciple of Ramananda died in 1518. Nanak the founder of Sikhism died in 1538. Thus in this early part of the sixteenth century lived and preached some of the greatest religious reformers of India. They all taught one great cult—the cult of love, and one great truth,—the brotherhood of man. But after the great Gurus or Masters were gone, arose no less illustrious poets who broadcasted their teachings in a more homely manner, and through the more effective medium of vernacular poetry of considerable lyric beauty. They appealed to millions and melted their hearts into love for God. Tulsi Das himself a great Vaishnav, wrote his monumental work of the *Ramcharitmanas*, in which he depicted Rama as full of the milk of divine mercy and love, and brought him closer to the perception and therefore to the realization of common men. What Tulsi Das did with Rama as his hero, Sur Das did with Krishna. Besides these two great luminaries of the poetical firmament, there shone many a modest star, that added to their lustre, imbued with a deep love they poured forth their feelings in elegant poetry and furthered the cause of Vaishnavism. Keshav Das, Raskhani, Mira Bai, and a whole gamut of poets sang of the celestial love of Radha and Krishna, the verdant groves of Brindaban, the amorous diversion of the Gopis, the Shrawan swing under the Kadamba tree, and a thousand other themes of the enchanting LILA of Krishna. The intense love that the great gurus or masters had felt for God and men, was now objectified, and reproduced in a more homely way which delighted and elevated the toiling peasant, the leisured wealthy, the cloistered scholar, the witty courtier and even the monarchs of the country.

At such a time when the country was thrilling with the glowing ideals of love and human brotherhood, when the scriptures and outward forms of religion were denounced, and sincerity, devotion and purity of heart were exalted, when the poets sang of the sublime

truths of life in the most touching way, came Akbar to the throne of India. Surcharged as the atmosphere was with these ideals, unsophisticated and inquisitive as Akbar was by nature, indifferent as he was to orthodoxy or fanaticism by heredity, and imbued as he was with the spirit of Sufism, it is no wonder that he made a radical departure from the religious policy of his predecessors in India.

But side by side with Vaishnavism there was another movement agitating the minds of the Muslims. That was the Mahdavi movement, based on the belief that at the close of a millenium, after the birth of Mahamad, a Messiah or redeemer of the sins of mankind would come upon the earth. The belief became very strong towards the close of the fifteenth century and throughout the sixteenth century, and there was a great deal of sensation in Arabia, Persia, Khorasan, Transoxiana and Hindustan. In Hindustan the movement was started by Sayyid Mahamad of Jaunpur (born about 1443) who proclaimed himself to be the promised Mahdi. To his numerous followers he was the guide, whom they were to love and obey. They believed that he got inspiration directly from God, and therefore was equal in authority with Mahamad. The Quran, revealed to Mahamad, was to be explained by the Mahdi. The Mahdi taught that the goal of life was the attainment of the beatific vision by meditation on God and of ultimate identity with Him. Like Sufis, they also aspired for the self-annihilation in God. The devotee should renounce all the worldly attachments, lead a poor and chaste life, and depend entirely upon the mercy of God for the attainment of the desired object. The injunctions of the Quran were not binding upon him unless confirmed by the Mahdi, and in fact the rituals had no value for him. The followers joined into a brotherhood in which the members had equal rights and equal shares in the possession of each and all. They were ready to fight if persecuted, and considered as infidels all those who did not believe in the Mahdi. Resembling the Sufis in many of their fundamental doctrines, they differed from the latter in so far as their creed was austere and militant. But on the whole theirs was a faith that did not fit in with the ways of the society and the demands of the state. The spirit of brotherhood and equality, obedience to the authority of the Mahdi alone on earth, communistic tendencies with regard to property and aspiration for super-mundane attainments cut at the very root of the society and state. The believers generally

abandoned their household and lived in groups professing poverty and practising austerities. They had no anxiety even for the satisfaction of the barest needs of life. In everything they depended upon God, and fasted for days together when they did not get anything by way of charity. 'But in spite of their destitute condition they always went armed carrying a sword and shield or other arms, that they might repel enemies. And whenever they saw any person do what was contrary to their notions of right they, in the first instance, mildly warned him to desist; but if he persisted, they proceeded to compel him by force and violence to alter his conduct.'¹ Thus they took justice into their hands whenever there was an occasion for it without waiting for the state to interfere or take action.

This faith made rapid progress in India because of the two successors of Sayyid Mahamad, viz. Shaikh Abdulla Niazi an Afghan, and Shaikh Alai his disciple. Shaikh Abdulla was a disciple of Shaikh Salim Chisti. After completing his education he made an extensive tour through all the Mahamadan countries, and during his travels adopted the doctrines of Mahdavi faith. Coming back, he settled down in Biana in the neighbourhood of the lowly and poor, and preached his faith with such an earnestness and zeal that he soon won numerous converts. In Biana lived another holy man, Shaikh Alai, a profound scholar and a teacher of the aspirants for the spiritual path. When he came to know of Shaikh Abdulla he met him and became a convert to his views. With him nearly all his followers embraced the new faith, and then began the remarkable career of Shaikh Alai. His persuasive eloquence, burning faith, profound scholarship and sincere zeal made a deep impression on everyone who heard him, and the followers of the faith increased every day. On his way to Mecca he halted at Khawaspur, and converted the celebrated general of Sher Shah, Khawas Khan along with his troops. When Islam Shah ascended the throne, the Shaikh was called to the court, admonished for his heretical doctrines and banished to Handia. At Handia, he converted its governor Bihar Khan Sarwani, with the greater part of his troops. Hence he was again called to the court, condemned as a pretender and preacher of heresies, and sentenced to death in 1553. But before his death he had spread his faith extensively both in

¹ Erskine's *History of India*, vol. ii.

Hindustan and Deccan, and had won numerous converts to his faith. In Ahmadnagar, the movement had a good number of adherents. Shaikh Mubarak the father of Abul Fazl and Faizi was a believer in the Mahdavi faith with strong leanings towards Sufism. He was a learned man and a reputed teacher of Nagore. He had many disciples, who shared his views, and when he came to the court of Akbar, along with his brilliant sons, he exerted considerable influence on him and had a fair share in the religious experiments of Akbar.

But side by side with the Mahdavi movement in Hindustan there was flowing in Afghanistan, another tide of religious movement that was like the former, an aberration from Islam and based upon almost similar principles. That was the Roshni movement. The Roshnis as the followers of the faith called themselves believed in the coming of a Messiah. They held that God is the absolute reality, from whom emanate 'the Universal All-Reason', and 'the primal elements time and space', i.e., the individual existence and phenomenal universe, and that to God will all these return. 'This return of the sparks of reason after amalgamation with matter, to the pure All-Reason, which is the first emanation of God, is facilitated by an indispensable approach from both sides, first from the All-Reason, and secondly from the soul of the world. Corresponding to this gradation, first the souls of Divine Incarnation absorb the full force of the All-Reason, then those of the Prophets whom the first enlighten, and so in descending measure, the souls of emissaries or prophets. As in men and with similar systematic gradation, these same spiritual powers dwell in celestial phenomena; first in sunlight, secondly in rain'.¹ These divine souls incarnate or manifest themselves as historical persons, epoch after epoch and it is the duty of the enlightened to discover or recognize him and proclaim him amongst men. He thus helps individual souls in their return to the source from which they sprang. Thus the Messiah or the divine incarnation is virtually the God on earth and therefore greater than any prophet, e.g. Mahamad, who subordinated himself to God. They, like the Sufis, believed in ecstatic communion with God to be attained by spiritual practices. These practices carry a man forward in the path, and there are eight stages in it before the goal is reached. These doctrines were first expounded by Abdullah Qadah, who

¹ Von Noer, vol. ii, pp. 144-45.

flourished in the ninth century A. D. The creed developed and won numerous converts in and outside India. In the sixteenth century, there was one great exponent of this creed at Kalinjar by name Mulla Suleiman. He became the spiritual preceptor of Shaikh Bayazid, the 'Pir-i-Raushan' or apostle of light of the Roshnis. Bayazid came of a saintly family, and early in life gave proof of great spiritual predilection. Starting life as a horse-dealer he travelled widely, and on one occasion met Suleiman at Kalinjar. Having become his disciple, he returned to his native country Kaniguram in the Afghan hills between the Gomal and Kurram and practised austerities to behold God. At last he had the revelation and was commanded to teach the truth to men. He proclaimed himself the representative of God and 'the guide of those who err.' Persecuted in his native district, he fled away to that of the Pustus and there he gathered a large following. He meant to unite the scattered tribesmen of the frontier hills, and like Mahamad he assumed the role of the spiritual and temporal head. He issued circular letters to the following purport: 'Come unto me, for I am a perfect Pir; whoever lays hold of the skirt of my garment shall obtain salvation, and whoever does not, shall utterly perish'.¹ Thus he preached not only a new creed but a crusade against all other creeds. Like the Mahdavis, he drew a line of distinction between his faith and others, and considered the followers of the latter as less than men, and when harmful as wolf, tiger, serpent and scorpion. Therefore these were fit for slaughter. Thus the creed of the Roshnis was militant like that of the Mahdavis.

Here was another aberration from Islam, another instance of a man posing himself as God's representative, and playing the role of both spiritual and temporal head. These two movements at the head of each of which was a Prophet—a God's representative, might have suggested to Akbar, that neither of them was the real representative of God and further that if they could pass for Prophets, he also could pass for one and make a new religion and thus become the head of the state and 'church.' But Akbar's idea was really to ensure indivisible allegiance—in matters spiritual as well as temporal, for himself, and here lay his stumbling block. He wanted to make a religion to suit his political needs, and therefore to be acceptable to his subjects

¹ Von Noer, vol. ii, p. 157.

professing various creeds. In his anxiety to substitute one creed for the many, he was led to adopt an eclecticism that found expression in the *Din-i-Ilahi*.

In an age characterized by such intellectual ferment and religious ebullition, lived and moved Akbar. Born with a mystic temperament, endowed with an all-comprehending genius, and destined to rule over the most powerful and richest empire of the day, his religious views and political ambition took a deep colouring from the tendencies of the times. His intense interest in human affairs coupled with some sort of a spiritual hankering landed him on a false belief in his prophethood. But in his attitude towards the religions of the Empire he was actuated by a number of cognate motives. Like a great statesman he had early foreseen that in a country where the Mughals were to stamp out the Afghan power and subjugate the Hindus—Rajputs, he could not afford to make the former his political enemy, and the latter religious helots. If he was to build up an Empire in India, he could not offend both. While his co-religionists, the Afghans were to be overthrown, his Hindu subjects should not be persecuted for their religion. The policy that inclined him to conciliate the Rajputs, so that he might successfully hold his own against the enemies of the Mughals in India, led him on to inaugurate a policy of toleration towards the Hindus. With this object in view he remitted the Pilgrim tax in the eighth and the Jaziya in the ninth year of his reign. That was also the real cause of his Rajput marriage. By having Rajput wives he came into intimate touch with Hinduism, for they were allowed freedom of worship within the palace. He must have watched his favourite wife Maryam Zamani performing the Homa or fire-sacrifice and worshipping in her own way in the temple still standing in Fatehpur Sikri, as a witness to his policy of toleration, and must have had many a discussion on Hinduism with that intelligent and learned lady. Thus he must have learnt a good deal about Hinduism.

Apart from his contact with the Hindus, he came into personal relations with a man, who was destined to influence him in no inconsiderable degree. That was Abul Fazl, whose father was a Mahdavi by conviction. He was a prodigy as a boy and a talented scholar and theologian in youth. He was introduced to Akbar about 1574. Before that time his father and elder brother Faizi had come to the court. These two became by their learning and views the eyesore of the

ecclesiastical heads of the kingdom. It was therefore one of the aims of the latter to ruin the family of Shaikh Mubarak. So it is just possible that when Abul Fazl came to the court and secured the friendship of Akbar, he, like his father in 1573, might have suggested to Akbar the idea of overthrowing the authority of the spiritual heads. Be that as it may, there is no gainsaying the fact that one who aspired for communion with God and spiritual consummation of his life, might have won the admiration and confidence of Akbar. Himself a mystic, Akbar must have appreciated the same characteristic in Abul Fazl. One who could say 'my mind felt no rest and my heart felt itself drawn to the sages of Mongolia or the hermits of the Lebanon; I longed for interviews with the Lamas of Tibet or with the Padris of Portugal and the learned of the *Zendavasta*' surely was no narrow sectarian, no hair-splitting theologian. He considered all religions as various expressions of man's quest for the truth, of his quenchless yearning for God. He knew that in their essentials all religions taught the same truth. Hence he realized the greatness of all religions, and was at home with the saints of all religions. He was thus the prototype of Akbar, mystic like him, eclectic like him. His association therefore must have made a considerable contribution to the religious development of Akbar. And it is significant that the year after his arrival at the court, i.e., 1575, Akbar ordered the construction of *Ibadat-Khana* for holding philosophical and theological discussions. Whether, in doing so, Akbar imitated the example of Suleiman Kararani or whether the idea originated from him, there is no means of ascertaining. To this *Ibadat-Khana* were invited at first learned *Ulamas* representing different schools of religious thought, and Akbar found ample food for religious speculation from their discussions. On Thursday evenings the debates used to commence and continue till late next morning, and the assembly generally consisted of the *Shaikhs*, *Sayyids*, *Ulamas* and *Amirs* seated according to the order of precedence. Akbar used to listen with rapt attention, and sincerely believed in Islam so far. But when he found that these theological discussions often degraded into vulgar rancour, morbid orthodoxy and personal attacks, he instinctively felt that the heads of religion—*Mukhdum-ul-Mulk* and Shaikh *Abdur Nabi*, were not only in error, but were not of very great character and attainments. He must also have felt that Islam alone could not satisfy

his curiosity. Hence just as on the one hand he realized that the Ulamas had no capacity to comprehend the highest principles and deepest truths of religion, he concluded on the other that Islam was certainly not the best of all religions. He naturally wanted to converse with the learned exponents of other religions to know what these contained, and invited them to the Ibadat-Khana. Hence as Abul Fazl remarks, the assembly consisted of 'Sufis, philosophers, orators, jurists, Sunnis, Shias, Brahmans, Jatis, Sinnas, Charbaks, Nazarenes, Jews, Sabians, Zoroastrians and others.'¹ Whether all these men were there or not, certain it is however that Akbar learned a good deal about Christianity, Jainism and Zoroastrianism from the exponents of these religions.

In 1576 Akbar invited Julian Pareira, the Portuguese Vicar-General of Bengal living at Satgaon, to come to the Court. Akbar questioned him about Christianity but he failed to satisfy his keen curiosity. Next year, therefore, another Portuguese, Pietro Tavares was sent for, but with no better result. In 1578 Antonio Cabral was invited from Goa, and he too failed to give him full satisfaction. Hence in 1580 came to his court at his request, a Jesuit Mission consisting of Aquaviva and Monserrate with the Persian interpreter Enriquez. If dissatisfied with Islam (not because Islam was at fault, but because its exponents were not the right type of men) he admired Christianity, much to the annoyance of the Muslims; he did not confine his attention to the latter faith only. He wanted to learn the essentials of Zoroastrianism and Jainism. Impelled by an insatiable thirst for the truth embodied in these religions, he invited to the court in 1578, Dastur Mehji Rana, the religious head of the Parsis at Navsari. He was allowed to take part in the debates, and hold private discussions with Akbar. His influence on Akbar was soon felt to an amazing extent and the latter adopted many practices of the Zoroastrians, e.g., sun-worship, fire-worship, etc. Inheriting a love for everything Persian, he observed their festivals also. A little later, i.e., 1582 the Jains were also invited. Of the three exponents of Jainism, Hira Vijay Suri, Vijay Sen Suri and Bhanu Chandra Suri, the first exerted considerable influence on Akbar, and it was at his instance that Akbar attempted to stop the slaughter of animals in his kingdom.

¹ *Akbarnama*, vol. iii, p. 366.

In the meanwhile he was not neglecting Hinduism. He used to invite a learned Pandit at night to listen all alone, to his discourses on Hindu philosophy and religion. It is said, since the Pandit would not sit near a Mlechha nor would he enter his apartments, he (the Pandit) used to be seated on a charpai or cot, and pulled up the balcony, where Akbar used to rest for the night. There suspended between the heaven and earth he would explain in all solemnity the unfathomable mysteries of Hinduism to the intently listening emperor. Already in intimate contact with the Hindus, he soon learnt to appreciate a good many of their practices and favoured Hinduism in various ways. Thus his dissatisfaction with Islam prompted him to study other religions by means of discourses and debates, which eventually resulted in his eclecticism.

But his eclecticism led to another result. It has been suggested that he felt disgusted at the mode of the discussion between Makhdum-ul-Mulk and Shaikh Abdun Nabi, and concluded that they were no good as the heads of religion. He was conscious on the other hand of his own superior intellect, magnetic personality, and genuine love for the Truth. These were further wedded to a spirit of robust optimism and boundless self-confidence bred by an unchequered career of conquest in Northern India. Beginning with a precarious claim to the throne and a negligible portion of Hindustan, he had in a score of years fought and conquered powerful enemies, suppressed dangerous rebellions, triumphed over great hardships and established an empire embracing the whole of Northern India. He had, by this time, impressed the people with his genius as a great king and conqueror. At such a time there came a suggestion from Shaikh Mubarak that head of the state as he was, he might be the head of the religion also. It was not an unworthy or novel suggestion. There were at this time so many who called themselves Prophets or Mahdis in different parts of the country. Could he not—Akbar might have thought now—make himself one? Perhaps he was not a whit inferior to them. This idea proved very fruitful in the mind of one, whose domineering nature prompted him constantly to impress his personality on all the activities of man.

But apart from this, Akbar had some political interest to serve by assuming headship of religion. For it is not only that 'so long as the spiritual supremacy over the recluse, which is called Holiness, and supremacy over laymen which is called Sovereignty, were distinct,

there was strife and confusion among the children of Noah', but that the authority of Ulamas served as the only effective check to Akbar's absolute or unrestrained political supremacy in Hindustan. According to the fundamental principles of Mahamadan polity, the government ought to be in consonance with the Quranic injunctions; and as such the interpretation and application of these injunctions were the province of the Ulamas. They gave the religious sanction to the temporal authority of the king by reading the Khutba in his name. Thus with the king they laid a parallel claim to the obedience of the people. It would have been extremely galling to Akbar, a man of domineering nature as he was, that he could not command the indivisible allegiance of his subjects. Further, it is a veritable cancer to the healthy development of the state. Akbar realized it, and therefore determined not to be thwarted by the parasitical ecclesiastics in the exercise of his absolute sway over the subjects, or enunciating new policies, that might be expedient but not in consonance with the Quranic laws. In this departure from the beaten track of Islamic statecraft, he was not the solitary exception. He had many an illustrious predecessor like Alauddin Khilji, and others, but Akbar proved far more shrewd and capable, and therefore attained complete success. Hence he had taken the suggestion of Shaikh Mubarak in right earnest, and set to destroy the authority of the Ulamas so that he might step into their place.

But Akbar's ambition for establishing his spiritual headship did not outrun his discretion. He proceeded step by step, broke one link after another of that chain which bound him to the priesthood. He took the first definite step in 1579. A year had passed since he fell into that spiritual trance, that ecstatic communion with God, at the time of the Kamargha hunt in May 1578. He perhaps felt strong enough to defy the religious traditions, and took the place of the preacher at the chief Mosque in Fatehpur Sikri and recited the Khutba in his own name so as to emphasize his new role as the spiritual leader of the nation, i.e., Imam-i-Adil. That was in June 1579, and that was the first blow at the authority of the Ulamas.

The second blow was not long in coming. In September 1579 a document was drafted 'with honest intentions, for the glory of God and propagation of Islam' by which the principal Ulamas and lawyers resigned into the hands of Akbar their authority in matters spiritual.

This was the Infallibility Decree. It placed Akbar's dispensation and wisdom in matters spiritual and temporal above those of the Mujtahids, and therefore it was laid down that 'should in future a religious question come up regarding which the opinions of the Mujtahids are at variance, and His Majesty in his penetrating understanding and clear wisdom be inclined to adopt for the benefit of the nation and as a political expedient, any of the conflicting opinions which exist on that point and should issue a decree to that effect, we do hereby agree that such a decree shall be binding on us and on the whole nation.' Akbar's decision was to be final because he would be able to square 'the benefit of the nation' with religious requirements, political expediency with the interest of Islam. Thus according to Akbar the political and religious well-being of 'the nation' was to take precedence over purely religious interest. Hence this Infallibility Decree made him supreme in temporal and spiritual matters.

But many took alarm at this interference in religion. Men like Balaoni thought that he was a humbug, for the time was long past when he 'spent whole nights in praising God', or when 'he would sit many a morning alone in prayer and meditation on a large flat stone of an old building, which lay near the palace in a lovely spot with his head bent over his chest, gathering bliss of the early hours of dawn,'¹ and now his political ambition eclipsed his love for God. But he was not a pretender. He did not mean to assume the spiritual leadership of 'the nation' without having spiritual attainments. That he believed, he had the mystic communion with God with all sincerity, is a fact; that he fancied he had attained the beatific vision, is a fact; and therefore, that he believed in his superior guidance in matters spiritual, is also a fact. From start to the finish, from ascending the pulpit at Fatehpur Sikri to the propagation of Din-i-Ilahi, Akbar was intensely sincere. His only fault was that he utilized his spiritual attainments for political purposes.

The time chosen for this interference was not inopportune. As has been indicated, on all sides there was a religious ebullition; new cults were preached and new ideals were upheld: the time itself was the revolt embodied—revolt against the old and orthodox creeds. There was nothing novel in Akbar's attitude. Further, a king

¹Badaoni, vol. ii, p. 203.

claiming spiritual headship was not a new thing in the Muslim world. The Caliphs had the political power and spiritual guidance in their own person, and the Great Prophet himself had set the example. Akbar knew that the people resented his interference. But if he became the Prophet of a new creed, then he would be on an equal footing with Mahamad, and then the incongruity of spiritual and temporal supremacy resting in the same person would disappear. Hence the next logical step would be the foundation of a new religion. That would place Akbar's authority beyond the reach of mortal men and establish his bona-fides. In this too Akbar was sincere, for he earnestly believed that just as all his subjects paid homage to one sovereign, and lived under one government, so they should obey one Prophet and follow one religion. That would put an end to the rancours subsisting between different religions, and to the divided allegiance between the king and the priesthood. Since Akbar was to be the King and Prophet of India, he should suppress Islam and its claims on the obedience of the king. Islam appeared to be the most uncompromising of all the religions of India, and therefore he determined to render it innocuous before he propagated his Divine Faith, proclaimed his prophethood, and established his indivisible sovereignty.

Having thus determined, he dealt blow after blow at the priesthood in such a quick succession that it was prostrate in no time. The year after the Infallibility Decree, Akbar forbade the name of Mahamad in public prayers. Early that year (1580) he got rid of Makhdum-ul-Mulk and Shaikh Abdun Nabi by sending them on a forced pilgrimage to Mecca. In the place of Abdun Nabi the Sadr-i-sadr, was appointed Khwaja Naqsbandi, who proved a pliant tool in the hand of Akbar and bowed to his will in all matters. This step was followed by a remarkable innovation in religion, and that was the substitution of 'There is no God but God, and Akbar is His Vicegerent' for 'There is no God but God, and Mahamad is His Prophet'. If Akbar was the Vicegerent of God on earth, then people must pay devotion to him. In 1580 therefore the four degrees of devotion to His Majesty were prescribed, and they consisted in the readiness to sacrifice property, life, honour and religion for the emperor. At this time Akbar ordered that 'Allahu Akbar' should be substituted for 'Bismillah'. This he did because it means 'Akbar is

God' besides meaning 'God is Great'. Side by side, a committee was instituted to inquire into the rights of the holders of Siyurghals. That was the hardest blow to the material interests of the Ulamas.

All these created a smouldering but almost universal discontent, which aggravated by the Fatwa of Mahamad Yazdi and disaffection of Bengal and Bihar officers owing to the reduction of their allowances, blazed up into a formidable rebellion. The rebels had actually aimed at the subversion of Akbar's sovereignty, and substitution of Mahamad Hakim's. The rebels had invited Mahamad Hakim, tried to seduce several high officers like Khwaja Shah Mansur and Kasim Khan from their allegiance to Akbar, and attacked and killed no less a person than the Governor of Bengal, Muzafar Khan Tarbati. All this happened in 1580, and towards the end of it, and beginning of 1581, Mahamad Hakim invaded from the North-west. Now was the most critical time for Akbar, and never was his resourcefulness better displayed than at this crisis. Starting at the head of an enormous army on February 8, 1581 from Fatehpur, he struck terror into the heart of the invader, who not only retreated but evacuated Kabul and fled away into the hills to allow Akbar to enter it safely and to avoid a meeting with his brother. Simultaneously, his generals in India defeated the rebels and broke the back of the rebellion in the eastern provinces of the empire. When Akbar returned from Kabul and stepped on the soil of the Punjab, the rebellion had been crushed in blood. This was the last and perhaps the greatest of his triumphs, and naturally enough engendered in him boundless self-confidence and convinced him of his divine destiny. He signalized his triumph by proclaiming the abolition of the office of Sadr-i-sadr. In full flush of triumph, he turned to teach a lesson to the ecclesiastics, and specially the arrogant ones. Shaikh Abdun Nabi and Makhdum-ul-Mulk died under highly suspicious circumstances;¹ Mir Muiz-ul-Mulk and another Mulla got watery graves because their boat foundered; and 'one by one he sent all the Mullas against whom he had any suspicions of dissatisfaction to the abode of annihilation.'² Thus did the priesthood lie prostrate under the blows of Akbar.

¹ A. N. iii, 406, note by Beveridge; Badaoni ii, 321.

² Badaoni ii, 285.

Now that all opposition had been completely overcome, Akbar resolved, as Bartoli says 'to make himself the founder of a new religion, compounded out of various elements, taken partly from the Quran of Mahamad, partly from the scriptures of the Brahmanas, and to a certain extent, as far as suited his purpose from the Gospel of Christ.'¹ In order to do this he summoned a general council of the theologians and Mansabdars, and impressed upon them the expediency of uniting all the discordant creeds and customs of his peoples, so that they might live in peace and prosperity. 'We ought' he said 'therefore to bring them all into one, but in such a fashion that they should be both 'one' and 'all', with the great advantage of not losing what is good in any one religion, while gaining what is better in another.'² That was his idea about a new religion. He wanted to found a religion, just as he had founded an empire. He would piece together the brilliant bits of every religion, and make a new one out of them, in the way he had conquered and annexed province after province of India, and built up one great empire. In his folly he forgot that religions are never made; their elements are not borrowed and pieced together. The great founders of religions, i.e., the prophets never meant to found them. They in their intense love of mankind, sought to impart it their own realizations, their own knowledge about the Truth, God and mysteries of life, and it was their followers who formed themselves into distinctive groups, and thus creeds came into being. Akbar was doing just the other way; he began where religions end. He planned and arranged the details of his Divine Faith, after enunciating its basic principles.

A number of fantastic regulations were issued in 1582, and a large number of Shaikhs, and Fakirs who resisted even then, were exiled to Qandahar and exchanged for horses. The Sijdah was now declared to be the due of the emperor. The fast of Ramzan, the pilgrimage to Mecca and the study of Arabic, of Mahamadan law and of Quranic exegesis were forbidden. Certain rites were prescribed for the converts, who, when they performed these became Darshaniyas or disciples of His Majesty. Many came attracted by material gains, but the faith did not gain popular support in spite of the attempts of Akbar, Shaikh Mubarak, Abul Fazl, and a host of other prominent nobles, and soon

¹ Smith, pp. 211-12.

² *Ibid*, p. 212.

after the death of Akbar his universal religion, Din-i-Ilahi or Divine Faith disappeared.

Thus the Divine Faith constituted out of many faiths, was one of the many institutions of Akbar. His political institutions were more lasting than this, because he was essentially a king, a statesman, a born ruler of men, and superficially a spiritual guide, a dabbler in religion. He was no doubt a mystic by temperament, and had imbibed a good deal of it from his environments; he was a freethinker by birth; he was domineering because of his wonderful talents; and the century in which he lived breathed into him a spirit of revolt against all creedal coercion. What was still wanting was supplied by his unchequered career of conquest. Out of these elements grew the Din-i-Ilahi, and from the nature of its constituents could not survive its maker.

Buddhist Logic in the Mañimekalai

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THE account of Buddhist Logic contained in the twenty-ninth chapter of the *Mañimekalai* is fairly full, and because of its close correspondence to Diñnāga's account, particularly of the fallacies, its composition is thought to be post-Diñnāga.¹ The view deserves to be examined afresh in the light of the material that has been made available to us recently about pre-Diñnāga Buddhist Logic.² A consideration of the *Mañimekalai* account would seem even otherwise to suggest strongly a rather early date for its composition, for, notwithstanding the elaborate classification of fallacies, the treatment of inference itself would seem to betray a great degree of nervousness about its service as a means of valid knowledge. Thus of the three types of inference recognized—*kāryānumāna*, *kāraṇānumāna* and *sāmānyānumāna* (corresponding to the *pūrvavat*, *śeṣavat* and *sāmānyato dṛṣṭa* of the *Naiyāyikas*)—, *kāraṇānumāna* is said to be liable to error; and the possibility of error is demonstrated later at great length. A stage of logical thought where the inference from smoke to fire was held to be essentially fallible, could not obviously have been very advanced; it certainly could not have belonged to the period of Diñnāga, in whose hands the syllogism had become the perfected instrument of logical thought. The list of fallacies no doubt presents a very strong resemblance to Diñnāga's exposition, but this, if not traceable (as so far it has not been) to any pre-Diñnāga work, may well have been a clumsy interpolation by a later hand, who sought to perfect the original account without realizing the incongruity of the later addition with the given basis. Such a

¹ See the supplement to Prof. Jacobi's article to the Hultzsche Jubilee Number of the *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, (translated and published in the *Mañimekalai*, pp. 31-34). See also 'Problems of Identity, etc.' by Prof. S. Kuppaswami Sastri, *Journal of Oriental Research*, I, ii, pp. 191-201.

² 'Buddhist Logic before Diñnāga': Tucci, *JRAS*, July 1929, pp. 450-488; also *Pre-Diñnāga Buddhist Texts on Logic from Chinese Sources* by Tucci (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. 49).

supposition would gain ground, if other apparently post-Diñnāga features may be shown to be pre-Diñnāga especially, in view of the omission of what one may reasonably expect (after line 108 and before line 109), viz., an exposition of *sāmāniya anumāna*, which comes next in order after the *kāriya-* and *kāraṇa-* *anumānas*, already explained. We shall first set out a translation of the relevant portion of the *Mañimekalai*, up to the account of the fallacies.

TRANSLATION

The means of knowledge recognized by the ancient Jinēndra are but two—faultless perception and reasoning; sense-knowledge [*cut-ṭuṇarvu*, the sensation of the particular] they called perception, and left out name, class, quality and action, since these fall under reasoning. Reasoning is to the cause or to the effect or by analogy; these, if investigated, (will be found to) err at times; the only (type of) reasoning that does not err is that to the effect, as of smoke from fire. All other sources of knowledge being included under reasoning, they are but (types of) reasoning.

There are five (members), *pakkam* (*pakṣa*), *ētu* (*hētu*) *tiṭṭānta* (*dṛṣṭānta*), *upanaya* and *nikamaṇam* (*nigamana*). Of these, *pakka* is the statement (thesis) 'this hill is fiery'; 'because it has smoke' is the suitable *ētu*; 'like the domestic hearth' is the *tiṭṭānta*; the *upanaya* is 'the hill too has smoke'; the *nikamaṇam* is 'that which has smoke has fire.' The statement 'whatever is not fiery has no smoke, like water' signifies absence from *vipakka* (*vipakṣa*), and constitutes the instance of negative concomitance (*vaitaṇmiya tiṭṭānta*).

Enquiring into the nature of the pure reasoning (which is from the cause) to the effect,¹ the *pakka* is the statement 'sound is

¹ *Tūya kāriyavētuccupāvam āyīṇ*. This has been rendered as 'when the real reason (*Hētu*) is based on identity (*Svabhāva*)', by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar (*Mañimekalai*, p. 206), possibly under the influence of Dharmakīrti's recognition of three kinds of *vyāpti*, viz., identity, causality, and negation: see Stcherbatsky, *La Théorie de la Connaissance et la Logique chez les Bouddhistes Tardifs*, pp. 296-297. There is no doubt that the instances cited and the language used strongly suggest some such classification; the mention of the non-affirmative type of reasoning is particularly in point. It must, however, be remembered that even what is apparently the connection of identity (*svabhāva*) is still spoken of in the *Mañimekalai* as reasoning to the effect (*kāriya vētu*), while, according to Dharmakīrti, it is a connection quite distinct from that of cause and effect. In other words, while the latter distinguishes between causality and identity, we seem to

non-eternal'; 'because it is produced' is the statement of pakka-taṇma (pakṣadharmā, presence of the ground in the probans); 'whatever is produced is non-eternal, like a pot' is sapakkat toḍarcci (sapakṣe sattva, the statement of positive concomitance of the ground with other instances of the probandum); 'whatever is not non-eternal is not produced' is the statement denying presence (of the ground in the vipakka, what is not of the same class as the probandum).

This is how the non-affirmative (type of) reasoning brings about (valid) knowledge: 'there is no pot in this unoccupied spot' is the pakka; 'because it is not seen' is the statement of pakka-taṇma; 'we see not the horns of a hare, since they do not exist' is the sapakka in that case; 'whatever exists is open to perception, like the myrobalan in the hand' is the suitable statement in regard to vipakka. This is how the ground (ētu) establishes valid conclusions.

What is it that smoke, as effect, can prove? If you say that smoke proves fire by the positive concomitance that wherever there is smoke, there is fire, and the negative concomitance that where there is no fire, there is no smoke, then we say since the blackness, that results from smoke and goes up straight or in spirals, is an effect proceeding from the fire so proved, whatever looks black over-head [e.g., a storm-cloud] should of itself prove fire. If it is positive concomitance that proves, then he who on a prior occasion observed the positive concomitance of a damsel and a donkey at the same time and place, should infer the damsel, when he sees the donkey on a subsequent occasion. That cannot be. If it be said that what proves is suitable negative concomitance, as in 'where there is no fire, there is no smoke', then, since in the mane of the donkey, where there is no dog's tail, there is no jackal's tail either, on that very ground it would be hard to infer elsewhere the dog's tail from the jackal's. Hence, that too is not possible.

The upanaya and the nikamaṇam which are connected (with the tiṭṭānta) are included in the tiṭṭānta.

have in the former a distinction between passing from cause to effect and *vice versa*, a distinction reminiscent of that between pūrvavat and śeṣavat, according to one interpretation. The intrusion here of the non-affirmative type of reasoning is as puzzling as the absence of all further exposition of sāmāniya (sāmānyato dṛṣṭa). Is this an indication of a hotch-potch due to compilation by inexperienced hands or at different times?

Of the pakka, ētu, and tiṭṭānta, there are both valid and invalid varieties. That is settled to be a valid pakka, which has explicit in it (1) a subject (of which the predicate is to be proved), and (2) a predicate to be proved, which would vary in relation to (subjects) other than the present. Such is, for instance, the predication 'sound is non-eternal'.¹ That of which non-eternity is proved is the subject—sound (in the present case). Eternality or non-eternity is the predicate to be proved.

The valid ground (nal-lētu) appears in three forms: being firmly grounded in the declared pakka (pakṣa dharmatā), being present in the sapakka (sapakṣe sattva), abandoning the vipakka, not being present therein (vipakṣe 'sattva). To establish the sapakka: it is for the predicate to conform to the general nature of the pakka (the subject); thus, for instance, if the non-eternity of sound is to be proved, one says, it is similar to the non-eternity of the pots, etc. [which are products, as sound is, and are of the same general nature as sound]. To explain the vipakka: whatever is not non-eternal is not produced, like the ether. To be produced or to appear as the result of an act is present in the pakka (subject) and the sapakka, but absent from the vipakka, and thus functions as the most suitable ground for non-eternity.

Valid tiṭṭānta is of two kinds—sātaṇmiya and vaitaṇmiya. What is called sātaṇmiya is the positive concomitance (of probandum and proof) in 'pot, etc. are non-eternal'; vaitaṇmiya; tiṭṭānta consists in the absence of the ground where the probandum is absent. Such are the valid grounds.

[Note.—All explanatory remarks are enclosed in rectangular brackets.]

The rather elaborate exposition of the defectiveness of reasoning to the cause cannot but call for notice. Such suspicion of the reasoning process seems unintelligible except at a stage when the idea of necessary connection as determinative of inference had not yet struck root. It is difficult to reconcile such a mental attitude with an exhaustive classification of fallacies, such as we find in the *Maṇimekalai*. But it seems more proper in any case to take the classification to be a later interpolation than to minimize the significance of the suspicious

¹ I prefer to read 'sattam anittam anittam eḡru', etc.

attitude to a certain type of inference, an attitude present from the beginning of the exposition and set out with a considerable degree of elaboration.

It may be noted that with the possible exception of the list of fallacies there is no clear indication of post-Diñnāga authorship. The qualification of perception as faultless (ētamil) is possibly equivalent to abhṛānta; but this does not necessarily show indebtedness to Dharmakīrti,¹ for, as Prof. Tucci has shown, Dharmakīrti himself seems to have taken it from earlier Sautrāntika writers²; he was re-stating a qualification known to earlier Buddhist logicians, not formulating a new one. The *Mañimekalai* could well have come long before Diñnāga and yet spoken of faultless perception (ētamil pirattiyam).

The attempt to curtail the members of the syllogism, stopping short with the dr̥ṣṭānta, is old as Vasubandhu and cannot be indicative of a later date.³

The doctrine of the trai-rūpya of the līṅga (the three-fold characteristic of the ground) is, again, long anterior to Diñnāga. Prof. Tucci says⁴: 'we have another text anterior to Diñnāga in which the trilakṣaṇa theory is clearly enunciated. This text is the *Tarka-Śāstra*, which, if we are to judge from the Chinese sources, enjoyed a very great authority not only in India but also in Central Asia and in China. . . . Paramārtha translated it into Chinese and commented upon it.'⁵

¹ Prof. S. Kuppaswami Sastri identifies Aravaṇavāṭikal, the Buddhist preceptor of the *Mañimekalai*, with Ācārya Dharmapāla, a logician who came after Diñnāga, and before Dharmakīrti. Partly to support this identification, and in the belief that the qualification 'abhṛānta' was first introduced into the definition of perception by Dharmakīrti, the learned Professor twists the Tamil text, and takes ētamil (faultless) to qualify not perception, but knowledge in general. Not merely does this do violence to the text—'ādi ciṇṇēdiraṅ aḷavay iraṇṇē ētamil pirattiyāṅ karuṭṭaḷav eṇṇa'—but it has not even the merit of bearing the sense the professor seeks to put upon it; for, ētamil construed with aḷavai does not mean samyag jñāna, as the professor says, but samyak pramāṇa. The truth would seem to be that ētamil means not samyak, but abhṛānta, while the introduction of this qualification in the definition of perception cannot avail to settle any date, since it is now seen not to have been a distinctive contribution of Dharmakīrti's.

² 'Buddhist Logic before Diñnāga,' *JRAS*, July 1929, pp. 470, 472.

³ 'Buddhist Logic before Diñnāga,' *JRAS*, July 1929, p. 478.

⁴ 'Buddhist Logic before Diñnāga,' *JRAS*, July 1929, p. 483.

⁵ 'Buddhist Logic before Diñnāga,' *JRAS*, July 1929, p. 483; also the *Tarka-śāstra* in *Pre-Diñnāga Buddhist Texts on Logic from Chinese Sources*, p. 13, line 16. The trai-rūpya of the līṅga is one of the points relied on by Jacobi for assigning a post-Diñnāga date to the Tamil work; see *Mañimekalai*, p. 32.

The mention of Paramārtha is of some interest. This Buddhist monk translated the *Sāmkhya Kārikā* too into Chinese. The account he gives there of the scheme of evolution shows many points of agreement with that given in the *Mañimekalai*, while it differs from the orthodox or classical account.¹ The sense-organs are derived not from ahaṁkāra, but from the tanmātras by Paramārtha, and from the mahābhūtas in the *Mañimekalai* account. The evolution of the organs of action is not clear in the latter; but one possible understanding of the text is that they result from a combination of the mahābhūtas; and Paramārtha says 'The hand, which is composed of five objects, is capable of seizing the five objects, as when it seizes a pot of water. As the hand, so the other organs of action.'² The great similarity between Paramārtha and the author of the *Mañimekalai* in this respect may lend countenance to the supposition that even the account of Buddhist Logic in the latter was drawn probably from the *Tarkaśāstra*, said to have been translated by Paramārtha, or from some other work of that period. There is reason to think that the account of the Sāmkhya probably belongs even to an earlier period than that of Paramārtha, since it contains no mention of the tanmātras, as such, unlike the commentary translated by the latter.

The absence of all reference to the distinction between svārtha and parārtha-anumāna may also be taken to indicate an early date for the *Mañimekalai*. This distinction certainly appears in Diñnāga, for whom it is anything but barely formal, for svārthānumāna is really judgment.³ But the difference seems to have been foreshadowed,

¹ See 'The *Mañimekalai* Account of the Sāmkhya' by the present writer, *Journal of Indian History*, VIII, III, pp. 322-27.

² *BFEO*, iv, pp. 1020, 1021. The words of the *Mañimekalai* are ivayḷḷ rokku vikāramāy. The present writer understood them to mean that the organs of action were derived as evolutes of the tactile sense (tvak). But in the light of Paramārtha's commentary, which he read since writing the article in the *Journal of Indian History*, he feels that the other interpretation is more probable, viz., that the organs of action are the composite evolutes of the mahābhūtas; for this interpretation has some support from Sāmkhya teaching, while the other, though not unintelligible, seems to have no known support.

³ See Stecherbatsky, *La Theorie de la Connaissance*, etc. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar remarks that the *Mañimekalai* 'deals only with the first part,' i.e., with svārthānumāna (*Mañimekalai*, p. 71). This is hardly accurate, for the work not merely does not make the distinction, but seems to be innocent of it. In so far as the distinction is significant for Diñnāga, svārthānumāna means judgment, and it is not this with which the *Mañimekalai* deals, through its exposition of the five-membered syllogism.

if not made, as early as the time of Asaṅga.¹ Hence, the absence of all reference to it in the *Mañimēkalai* should suggest for the latter a really early date. It has also been suggested that a consideration of the three types of reasoning seems to indicate priority to Vātsyāyana.² Though not one of the indications here pointed out is conclusive, it seems no longer possible to assert that the account of Buddhist Logic is drawn from Dinnāga. Even if it cannot be proved that the list of fallacies is taken from an earlier author there would appear to be strong ground for holding that part of the text to be a later interpolation, in preference to assigning a late date for the whole account.

The hypothesis of interpolation is not as implausible as it may otherwise sound, in view of the other facts above mentioned, viz., the failure to explain *sāmānyato dṛṣṭa* premised in the opening lines, and the mention of the non-affirmative type of reasoning, not so premised. It has to be noted that what the heroine *Mañimēkalai* asks for is instruction in the true doctrine,³ that this instruction is offered only in Chapter XXX, and that the whole of Chapter XXIX (over 400 lines) constitutes only a propaedeutic to that instruction. Granted that some logical grounding was necessary for metaphysical instruction, that grounding, as such, need not have been so elaborate; nor need the treatment of fallacies have figured so extensively, standing in relation to the exposition of *pramāṇas* in a proportion of five to one. One may excise from this chapter all the lines from 111 to 471 and do no violence either to the words or the sense. The excision may even better the sense in part, because lines 111 to 146 repeat only what has already been said of the two kinds of example and the three characteristics of the *liṅga*.⁴ One is tempted to conclude that the original text ended with line 110, 'tiṭṭāntattilē ceṇṇadangu (m)' followed by the present line 472, 'maiya (*not* laiya) miṇṇi yaṇṇindukol āyṇṇden.'

¹ See 'Buddhist Logic before Dinnāga,' *JRAS*, July 1929, p. 474.

² See 'The *Mañimēkalai* Account of the *Sāṃkhya*,' *Journal of Indian History*, VIII, iii, pp. 326-27.

³ Chapter XXIX, line 45.

⁴ The lines correspond to that part of the present translation which begins with 'Of the pakka, ētu, etc.,' right on to the end.

The Historical Material in the Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai (1736-1761)

BY

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, M.A.

VIII

I. EVENTS AFTER THE BATTLE OF AMBUR

WHEN Ranga Pillai resumed his Diary in the beginning of September, 1749, Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang, the victors of Ambur, were still at Arcot. Many of the *killedars* had submitted; but Mir Asad, the *killedar* of Chetpattu (in the North Arcot District), who had been *diwan* to Nawabs Dost Ali and Safdar Ali, stood out; and he was successful in his resistance, in spite of the fact that a body of 300 Europeans with two mortars and several guns was despatched from Pondicherry to coerce him.¹ Chanda Sahib proposed to leave Arcot for Pondicherry by way of Jinji, accompanied by Muzaffar Jang. The Chetpattu affair seemed to have been settled for three lakhs of rupees and the soldiers and French officers who were despatched to that place returned on September 8. An important event that took place at the time was the rendition of Madras to the English on Monday, September 1. The Diarist thus writes about that event. 'The Brahmans did *puja*, cocoanuts were broken, sheep sacrificed and other Tamil ceremonies performed, before the flag was hoisted; then an extraordinary salute was fired from the Fort and from the (Boscawen's) ships. We do not know where the Tamils were who left Madras and would not

¹ Mir Asad wrote to the English in November, complaining that they had not congratulated him on his successful resistance—(Country Correspondence, 1749, p. 54: of Madras Records)—note by Dodwell on p. 154 of vol. vi, of the *Diary*. Dupleix desired that Mir Asad might come to a settlement with Chanda Sahib and asked the Diarist to write to this effect to Shaikh Muhammad Sharif who was arranging terms (entry for September 4, 1749).

return in our time; but when their (English) flag was hoisted, ten lakhs of Tamils, Muhammadans, Lubbays, Pattanawars, coolies, etc., crowded into the town as joyfully as though the Fort and town belonged to each one of them.¹ Of course the trade of the times was not prosperous. The country trade was dull; but while Madras was ruined, Pondicherry was not correspondingly benefitted. Dupleix arranged about this time to invite various classes of weavers, *Kaikolars*, *Sedars* and *Seniyars* to settle at Villiyanallur in the vicinity of Pondicherry and to advance them ten pagodas a loom, in order to enable them to build houses and construct looms. This was as if an answer were to be made for the English planting of weaving villages at *Kaladipettah* (originally, Collettpettah) near Tiruvottiur and at Chintadripettah to the west of the Island Ground in Madras by Governors Joseph Collett and Morton Pitt in 1719 and 1734 respectively. These two suburban villages of Madras were peopled by weavers, painters, dyers and washers of the Company's cloth intended for export to Europe and were the necessary adjuncts of a trading settlement whose principal occupation was the manufacture and export of calico and other cloth. As early as 1742 the Madras Council wrote that 'the French had expended much money in settling weavers at Pondicherry, just as the English had done at Chintadripet, and with similar ill-success; and therefore they argued that it would be useless to attempt such a settlement at Cuddalore.'²

¹ This is confirmed, as Mr. Dodwell notes, by the Fort St. David despatch to the Company, dated August 30, 1749 (old style):—The rendition has occasioned 'universal joy among the late inhabitants who thronged there in great numbers, immediately on hoisting the English flag.' 'All French efforts failed to induce them to return; and the French are mortified at the present token of attachment to the English. Its condition is indifferent; all the fortifications are undermined and all useful stores have been carried off.' (Despatch from Charles Floyer and Council to the Company, from Fort St. David)—p. 79 of Dodwell's *The Madras Despatches (1744-55)*—1920. Ranga Pillai himself grieved that the French were destined by God to rule over Madras only for two years, eleven months and ten days and that Madras had become 'the Little City instead of the Golden City as it was once called'—the wealthy inhabitants of the Black Town being very few when compared with those of the past.

² One main reason of the ill-success of these attempts, according to Dodwell, was the relative dearness of grain in the coast towns. Dupleix's attempt to settle weavers at Villiyanallur seems to have succeeded much better, as 1,200 families of weavers were said to have been settled there, till they were scattered by the war in 1752. Dupleix arranged that the weavers should repay the advances given to them at the rate of one pagoda per year; and they should be free from any tax on their

Meanwhile news was received that when Nasir Jang heard that Anwar-ud-din Khan had been killed, he cast his turban on the ground in vexation and despatched his younger brother (?) with a small army, recalling in disgrace Sayyad Lashkar Khan who was sent first. Chanda Sahib was planning to raise a large body of horse and foot in order to march with Muzaffar Jang to conquer Trichinopoly, Tanjore and Mysore. Both the leaders had appointed Taqi Sahib who was *killedar* of Wandewash and sometime *diwan* to Dost Ali to be the *naib* and *diwan* of Arcot—a step that Dupleix did not like. Dupleix also desired that Mylapore (including of course San Thomē) should not be delivered to one Muhiud-din Sahib who came with a *parwana* for that place from Chanda Sahib, but should be left in the hands of Father Antony, Padre of Mylapore, for whom a *parwana* was subsequently got from the Nawab.

II. THE VICTORS AT PONDICHERRY

On September 27, the Diarist went to Valudāvur in order to welcome Chanda Sahib and offer him Dupleix's compliments; and the next morning he made a state entry into Pondicherry, the Governor meeting him at the Villiyanallur gate.¹ The next day Chanda Sahib went out to Valudāvur to meet Muzaffar Jang who was encamped there and to escort him to Pondicherry. His state entry into Pondicherry is described with an apparent relish by the Diarist in his entry for September 30. A number of days were spent in festivities, in the course of which, the Diarist contrived to plead both with Chanda Sahib and with Muzaffar Jang, for the assignation of a *jaghīr* to himself, 'as a mark of remembrance, besides those stipulated for the

yarn and cotton for the first two years after their settlement. By this, the Diarist tells that Dupleix hoped that ten times as many weavers as went to Chintadripet and Madras would settle at Villiyanallur. For the terms of the *cowl* that was given to the settlers at Chintadripet, refer to the Madras Council Consultation of October 21, 1734, quoted almost in full by Talboys Wheeler in his *Madras in the Olden Time*—pp. 522-5 of the 1882 edition.

¹ Chanda Sahib is reported by the Diarist to have related to Dupleix all his vicissitudes since his release from prison from Satara. He detailed, particularly, the part that he took in the fighting at Chittirakkal Baman where his eldest son, Abid Sahib, perished. Compare this with the conflicting accounts of his doings at Bednore as given by Orme and Wilks and with Dodwell's account, as given in a note on part vi. (J.I.H. Vol. viii, Notes on pp. 154-6).

French.¹ The scarcity of money was very keenly felt by the Nawab and by Muzaffar Jang. The latter pressed Chanda Sahib who in turn importuned Dupleix for an accommodation of two lakhs of pagodas. Even thus Chanda Sahib's hopes of supremacy were high; he said to the Diarist, 'If you will send troops to settle my business with Tanjore and Trichinopoly, I will give many villages as an *inam* (besides those you now enjoy) and pay the Governor one or two lakhs and reward you also suitably. . . French troops will march to Aurangabad; and Masulipatam and other sea-ports shall be given to the French. I will also give a *jaghir* there. Moreover I will conquer all the countries from Mysore up to the Narbada and rule as the Nizam did formerly. The Marathas are coming to assist me with a lakh of horsemen under the Peishwa Sau Baji Rao, Fatteh Singh Bhonsle and others. . .'² But in spite of the brave show and high hopes indulged in by Chanda Sahib, he was nervous lest he would not have enough money and French auxiliaries for the expedition. Muzaffar Jang himself was not to be greatly relied upon; he was, in the words of the Diarist, 'like a child that will lie in any one's arms'; also he was very close-fisted about money and constantly dunned his ally for a fresh supply. Moreover he was anxious to go north, since he heard that Morari Rao was marching down on the Carnatic with several thousands of horsemen and Pindaris, turning everything upside down and planning to march on Arcot, while Nasir Jang himself had begun

¹ The French had stipulated that as a condition of their help that they should be given the *jaghirs* of Villianallur and Bahur. And Muzaffar Jang had, in his abundant gratitude, given in addition the sea-port of Masulipatam and the district of Bahur which last included the villages immediately surrounding the limits of Fort St. David. Dupleix was particularly anxious to hoist flags and tie *toranams* in the thirty-six villages of the Bahur jaghir on the day of Chanda Sahib's departure (see p. 220 of vol. vi of *Diary*). The tying of *toranams* was a formal announcement of possession. He was also anxious that if English soldiers or peons came from Fort St. David or Madras and seized the inhabitants by stealth, they should be stopped and expelled. The Bahur villages were taken possession of on November 2, 1749. 'To Dupleix this may have seemed no more than a convenient rounding off of French territory; but to the English it bore the menacing aspect of a scheme to cut off all trade and communication with the interior of the country. Their fear was confirmed by certain sinister occurrences in the neighbourhood of Madras; (the action of Padre Antonio in taking possession of San Thomē); and thus the English Council were compelled to embark on a policy of opposition.'—Dodwell, *Dupleix and Clive*, p. 39.

² Diarist's report of a conversation that took place between him and Chanda Sahib on October 6, 1749, p. 215 of vol. vi of the *Diary*.

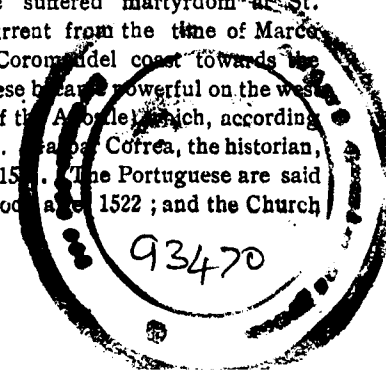
to march southward from Aurangabad with 30,000 horse. Dupleix's chief concern now was to have the grant of the proposed *jaghir* completed before his allies should depart from Pondicherry; and there now arose a new difficulty regarding Mylapore, about which mention has been made already.

III. ENGLISH OCCUPATION OF SAN THOMÉ

After Madras came back into the possession of the English, one of the first questions dealt with by them was the attitude that they should take towards the Catholic priests and others who were believed to have played a treacherous part at the time of the French capture of the place. Admiral Boscawen declared that the four priests of the Great Church in White Town (the Capuchin Church of St. Andrew in the Fort built in 1675) were greater enemies to the Company than any others and no man doubted of their affection and goodwill to the French and that he had 'certain proof of Mr. Dupleix has wrote to Goa desiring the Portuguese Viceroy to send the padre Antonio a Commission as Governour of St. Thomē and its Dépendancies and a supply of men and money. . .'¹ Admiral Boscawen advised in September that Father Antony de la Purification of San Thomē should be

¹ Fort St. David Consultation, dated September 2 (old style) 1749. Father Antonio had been appointed Procurator of the Portuguese at San Thomē by the Viceroy of Goa and *haviḍar* of Mylapore by Chanda Sahib. San Thomē's history is briefly as follows :—

San Thomē and Mylapore formed one town as it were. Mylapore was a place of ancient importance, identified by some scholars with the Malīarpha of Ptolemy, the Geographer (*cir.* A. D. 150). It was rendered illustrious in Tamil literary and religious tradition by its close association with the Saint Tiruvalluvar, author of the *Sacred Kural*, which treats of the Trivarga; and also with the activities of the great Saiva Nayanar, Tirugnanasambanda, as well as of an early Vaishnava Alvar. It is sacred on account of its Saiva temple, dedicated to Sri Kapālisvarar, and was mentioned as an important place along the coast by the European travellers of the sixteenth century. San Thomē's fame rests upon its close association with the Indian Apostolate of St. Thomas. It is not certain whether the Church of San Thomē was first founded by the Apostle himself or by a later personage of the name Thomas. The tradition that the Apostle suffered martyrdom at St. Thomas' Mount, a little to the west, has been current from the time of Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, who touched the Coromandel coast towards the close of the thirteenth century. When the Portuguese became powerful on the west coast, they visited the Betumah (house or chapel of the Apostle) which, according to tradition, had been existing on the Madras coast. João de Cofre, the historian, visited the spot and made repairs to the chapel in 1511. The Portuguese are said to have founded the Church of St. Thomas in or soon after 1522; and the Church



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deported as treasonable papers had been found in his house. The despatch of Governor Floyer of Fort St. David to the Company, dated

was consequently the most ancient European building on the coast. A monastic settlement was probably formed at St. Thomas' Mount about 1522; in 1547 the famous Bleeding Cross was discovered at the Mount by the Portuguese and built into the church wall behind the altar and gradually a town grew up at the base of the Mount.

The rise of San Thomé was rapid after 1550. It shot into great importance in the last quarter of the sixteenth century and came to be equipped with a fort. It was the seat of a bishop; and besides the principal church, it contained several others both within and outside the walls. The settlement included Mylapore and was known as San Thomé de Meliapour and was under the control of the Captain of the City who was usually a Portuguese nobleman. San Thomé began to decline in trade, particularly after Madras was founded, and it fell into the hands of the Mussalmans of Golconda in 1662. It remained under Golconda rule till 1672 when it was attacked and taken possession of by the French. The Mussalmans seem to have strengthened the fortifications whose area seems to have been nearly three times that of Fort St. George.

The French occupation of San Thomé was neither long nor peaceful. It lasted a little more than two years and was one long period of beleaguering, first by the forces of Golconda and then by the combined forces of Golconda and the Dutch, till the place was starved into capitulation. The first siege was slow and ineffective; it was raised in March, 1673; and De la Haye, the French Commander, occupied the Triplicane village and temple, though the place had been given over to the English by the Golconda representative in the previous year. The English Governor, Langhorne, protested against this action of the French, but without any effect. Meanwhile Martin, the future founder of Pondicherry, proceeded to Masulipatam and negotiated for a *farman* from the Sultan for San Thomé.

War had meanwhile been declared by Holland against England and France. Van Goens, the Dutch Governor of Ceylon, was soon before San Thomé with a powerful armament and began a blockade on the seaside, while the Golconda troops invested the place on land (August 1673). The English at Madras were too jealous of the French at San Thomé to co-operate actively with them. At last, after more than a year of resistance, De la Haye capitulated and surrendered himself into the hands of the Dutch who, according to agreement, delivered the Fort to the Sultan of Golconda (September, 1674). The English Governor of Madras urged the demolition of the San Thomé fortifications, as he was afraid that the French might recover the Fort, either by force or by negotiation. But the Dutch gained over to their side Madanna Pant, the minister of Golconda; and the French hope of recovering the place was frustrated.

One important consequence of the French evacuation of San Thomé was the withdrawal of François Martin, with a few followers to Pondicherry, where he founded a settlement on a small site for a factory which had been granted in the previous year by the governor of Jinji on behalf of his master, the Sultan of Bijapur. Thus originated the city of Pondicherry.

Urged on by the Dutch, who were apprehensive of French designs, the Sultan of Golconda ordered in 1675 the destruction of the fortifications of San Thomé; and only the chief buildings and the churches were spared from demolition. The English cast covetous eyes from time to time on the place. Their chief merchant,

October 18, 1749, tells us that Father Antonio forbade, under the severest penalties, any provisions to be carried through or out of his dependencies, with other insults until the English Council requested Boscawen's assistance; and the latter at once made the *padre* a prisoner and wanted to carry him to England and he also took possession of his papers.¹ Boscawen and the English Council had definite information that Dupleix was determined to get possession

Casa Verona (Kāsi Viranna), farmed the place from the Muslims, tried hard to repopulate it and spent large sums in building houses there. When Golconda's authority was superseded by the Mughals in 1687, the Madras factors began negotiations with the imperial officers for the grant of the town to them. In 1697 the Mughal representative in the Carnatic demolished such fortifications as still remained in San Thomé. Nawab Daud Khan, who was generally ill-disposed towards the English, often threatened to develop San Thomé at the expense of Madras; and it was from San Thomé that he frequently threatened the safety of Fort St. George in the time of Governor Thomas Pitt (1698-1709). Thus the place continued under the authority of the Nawabs of the Carnatic with very little trade and a decaying population. In 1710 the Armenian merchants of Madras were suspected of having designs on San Thomé and intending to use it as their port. Successive Nawabs visited the place; and in the course of Mahfuz Khan's defeat at the hands of Paradis, the town was plundered by French troops in a ruthless manner.

¹ The letters found in the *Padre's* house showed that Dupleix advised him to carry matters with a fair face till Chanda Sahib's affairs were more settled—see p. 82 of Dodwell's *The Madras Despatches, 1744-55*. From the entries of Ranga Pillai, it can be seen that, on the *Padre's* representation, Dupleix had the *parwana* that Chanda Sahib gave to one Muhi-ud-din Sahib for San Thomé cancelled; and that Raza Sahib gave the required *parwana* for the place to the *Padre* in the presence of Madame Dupleix who was a relation of his and used her own influence in the matter. Moreover Dupleix asked the Diarist, when he had news of the deportation of the *Padre* by Boscawen, to tell Chanda Sahib that the Viceroy of Goa would be very angry about this affair and that he would write to him for a squadron of warships if Chanda Sahib would promise to bear the expense (pp. 178, 199 and 219 of the *Diary*, vol. vi). Chanda Sahib was later asked by Dupleix to write a Persian letter to the Viceroy of Goa to this effect.—'In order to make their (the Portuguese) name shine here, we (Chanda Sahib) appointed Padre Antonio, a Portuguese, amaldar of Mylapore and conferred on him a name by which to give orders. But the English were jealous of Portuguese prosperity near their city. So Mr. Boscawen sent soldiers and peons to seize the *Padre*; they wounded four or five persons with him, plundered Mylapore, destroyed its beauty, captured the *Padre* and sent him on board ship. I cannot endure that the English should thus dishonour the Portuguese, and so I write to you. If you send ships of war, soldiers and ammunition to attack Madras, Cuddalore and Fort St. David, I will march with my forces, fight with them and punish them. Please regard the letters which M. Dupleix, the General of Pondicherry, writes to you about this at my request, as my own and act as the letters require.' Meanwhile Dupleix thought that he could, with the help of the Portuguese soldiers who should be asked to come overland, overthrow Nasir Jang with ease. For the outcome of this letter to Goa see the sequel.

of San Thomē as a counterpoise to the loss of Madras. The Fort St. David Council wrote to Boscawen that the *Padre* was to come with a detachment of French troops to build the fort that he had already begun; and they wrote to Muhammad Ali Khan at Trichinopoly¹ that the French intended to keep possession of San Thomē and had actually begun to build a fort there and that Boscawen was determined to take possession of the place in his name. They requested the immediate despatch of a *farman* for that place which 'will engage the English strictly to adhere to your interest.' Accordingly Muhammad Ali despatched a *farman* dated October 2 (old style), delivering Mylapore (*alias* San Thomē) to the English; and Boscawen hoisted English colours at the place on the October 11 (old style). Writing to the Company on November 2, 1749, the Fort St. David Council justified their action, as the French occupation of San Thomē would have ruined the trade of Madras and enabled them 'constantly to observe all our transactions.'² Chanda Sahib had not, till that date,

¹ P. Country correspondence; vol. iii. September 21, 1749, quoted by Col. H. D. Love in his *Vestiges of Old Madras*, vol. ii, p. 399. The occupation of San Thomē was certainly proposed by Boscawen; but the Fort St. David Council did not seem to have tried to evade responsibility as was represented to the Diarist by Dupleix who said that they had written to Europe that it was done without their knowledge and attempted to shirk their responsibility (p. 255 of vol. vi of the *Diary*). Dodwell points out that there was no particular reason why the English Council should have done so.

² English occupation of San Thomē.—Note on the *Padre de la Purification*.

'Extract from Dispatch from Fort St. David,' October 18, 1749.

'The first act that he (Chanda Sahib) did, after arriving at this (Nabob's) Dignity was the recompensing his good allies, by granting them forty-two villages of the Villanour Country, which lay all round this Settlement (Fort St. David), and by way of reward to Mr. Dupleix in particular, the following towns and their revenues have been given to him and his relations, *viz* :—

Coibelong (Covelong) to Mr. Dupleix, Porto Novo to Madame Dupleix.

Alempara to Monsieur D'Autel, his brother-in-law.

St. Thomē to Padre D' (la Purification) a relation of Madame Dupleixes.

'So that we are surrounded in such a manner as for the French to have it entirely in their power to stop our trade or debar us from any supplies of provision from the Country, and we have great reason to believe, from what has already happened, they will not be wanting to make use of this advantage, for the Padre's zeal being either warmer than the other could not help discovering himself, by forbidding on the severest penalties, any sort of refreshments going to Madras through or out of his Dependances; and by insulting us in other respects, in so much that at last we were obliged to apply to General Boscawen for his assistance, who immediately sent and took the Padre prisoner, and is bringing him to England to be disposed of as His Majesty shall think proper.'

Forrest's (*Bengal and Madras Papers*, vol ii, 1688-1757.)

entered on any hostilities on this account against the English, as he was just then busy with his expedition to the south against Tanjore and Trichinopoly. Major Lawrence who was in command of the Madras garrison, was prepared to open fire on any body who should dispute the English possession of the place. The Portuguese, as if in answer to Dupleix's advice, sent a letter of remonstrance to the English at Fort St. David, claiming that the place was under the sway of their King. To this the English Council replied that there were no Portuguese colours flying when Boscawen took the place and that *Padre* Antonio declared that he was the representative of Chanda Sahib and that they had a valid *farman* for the place from Muhammad Ali, the lawful Nawab of the province¹. Dupleix told the Diarist, when Boscawen's fleet sailed to Cuddalore from Madras after San Thomē had been taken by him, that he feared that Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang would attack Cuddalore as a measure of retaliation and therefore he had postponed his journey to Europe and was going to Cuddalore and Fort St. David.² Boscawen, however, had definite orders to proceed home.

IV. CHANDA SAHIB'S EXPEDITION TO TANJORE

To return to Chanda Sahib:—He departed from Pondicherry on October 28, but the heavy rains prevented his rapid march; and for a few days he stayed on in the neighbourhood. He then camped in the vicinity of Fort St. David in the hope of being able to raise money on the mortgage of some villages; and it seemed as if he and Muzaffar Jang who accompanied him, set out 'to replenish their purses, rather than to complete their conquests.' Almost even before they had proceeded far, Muzaffar Jang quarrelled with Chanda Sahib about money matters and threatened to return to his headquarters at Adoni. Chanda Sahib had to mollify him by promising to pay him two lakhs of rupees in ready money and to put him in possession of

¹ See the Portuguese Viceroy's letter to Fort St. David, dated February 5, 1750, and the Council's letter to him in reply dated, May 14, 1750—both quoted by Love—vol. II, pp. 400-1.

² Entry of the Diarist for October 24 (new style)—p. 223 of vol. VI of the *Diary*. Boscawen's fleet sailed from Fort St. David on October 21 (old style); the French did not believe that he intended to quit India, but imagined that he only wanted to avoid the stormy monsoon of the coast. They took advantage of this absence, short as they imagined it, to send their allies to Tanjore the very next day.—*Orme*, vol. I, p. 133.

Nellore, Sarvepalle and other countries worth about ten lakhs a year in the opinion of the Diarist. Muzaffar Jang promised to demand no more money for four months. There was also news of Nasir Jang's rumoured advance to the bank of the Godavari from Aurangabad and of the advance of the Nawabs of Cuddapah and Kandanur to seize the fort and province of Adoni under instructions from the former. Muzaffar Jang got greatly frightened and ordered his troops to be ready to march back to Adoni; he said that as Chanda Sahib got the subah of Arcot with European help, he could manage affairs by himself, but that himself should go to Nasir Jang and reconcile himself to the latter somehow or other. It was with great difficulty that Chanda Sahib contrived to dissuade him from departing and to reassure him and finally to make him swear on the Quran that both would stand or fall together.¹ The situation was complicated by the arrival at Pondicherry of letters written to the French chief of Masulipatam by the Nawab of Rajahmundry, Khajah Namat-ullah Khan, son of Khajah Abdullah Khan, who was for a short time *interim* Nawab of the Carnatic in 1743 under the orders of Nizam-ul-Mulk. Herein the French were advised to give up the alliance of Chanda Sahib, join Nasir Jang and obey his orders; and they were told they could live at peace in Masulipatam if they acted as he wished. Copies of these letters and of the Mughal Emperor's *farman* confirming Nasir Jang as the *Subhadar* of the Deccan, which was sent along with them were despatched to Chanda Sahib by the Diarist according to Dupleix's instruction.²

Meanwhile Chanda Sahib, having failed to get any money in the country round Fort St. David, directed his attention to the Poligar of Udaiyarpalayam which was a considerable chiefship in the interior of the Trichinopoly District. The Poligar agreed to pay one lakh of rupees; but Chanda Sahib insisted on a lakh of pagodas. The

¹ Diarist's entry of a conversation he had with Jayaram Pandit on November 5, 1749, who desired that letters should be written to Raghuji Bhonsle, Fatteh Singh and other Maratha chiefs requesting them to maintain Chanda Sahib in his position and hinder his enemies from attacking them.—p. 236 of *Diary*, vol. VI.

² Khajah Namatullah Khan had shown his enmity to the French as early as 1747, when he attempted to waylay M. d'Espremenil who proceeded overland from Madras to Yanam and extracted money from him; and it was suspected at Pondicherry that Antannan, a French servant at the Yanam factory, was intriguing with the Nawab.

Udaiyarpalayam people delayed the payment of the amount they agreed to give, in the hope that news of the coming of Nasir Jang might improve their position. Chanda Sahib spent about a fortnight before Udaiyarpalayam and succeeded in getting therefrom only about 70,000 pagodas. Even this was got only when three or four guns had been fired and the Nawab's troops had entered the bounds of the *pala-yam*. He then joined Muzaffar Jang who was encamped about 12 *kos* from Tanjore. Dupleix was anxious to get a *parwana* for the villages round Karikal that he wanted for himself from the Raja of Tanjore. He expected that the affair of the Raja might be settled for about half a crore of rupees, which was also the modest estimate of Chanda Sahib. Of course, in his accustomed vein of vainglory, Dupleix proudly exclaimed: 'Affairs have been settled with the Udaiyarpalayam and other *killedars*, because of their fear of me; else, at a time when Nasir Jang had given orders to advance, no one would have joined Chanda Sahib's army or paid him a cash.'¹

Abdul Amin Khan, the younger son (or brother) of Abdul Nabi Khan, Nawab of Cuddapah, wrote to Chanda Sahib that it would be an easy task for him to capture Tanjore and Trichinopoly, but Jinji was very strong and should be kept in friendly hands; his elder brother was now the ruling Nawab of Cuddapah and he was the Nawab of Savanur and Bankapur;² he expressed a desire in the letter to open communications with Dupleix. He was to play later a prominent part in the intrigues that brought about the deaths of Nasir Jang and Muzaffar Jang in quick succession. When Nasir Jang marched south through Kalyan and Gulburga and his general, Sayyad Lashkar Khan, reached the banks of the Krishna, the Diarist heard that the Nawabs of Cuddapah and Savanur were moving against him; and the Nawab of Kurnool, Himayat Khan, the other member of this infamous triumvirate, appears to have actually attacked and defeated a small force sent to him from Nasir Jang.

Things did not advance well in Chanda Sahib's camp. Though some money was got from Ariyalur, there was general unrest among the troops on account of growing arrears of pay; while Miyān Ma'sud,

¹ See Diarist's entry for November 25, 1749—p. 272 of vol. iv.

² There is some doubt about the identity of this person. The Diarist speaks of him in another place as Abdul Majid Khan. The families of the Nawabs of Cuddapah and Savanur were related. He probably confuses the Nawab of Savanur with Abdul Majid who succeeded Abdul Nabi of Cuddapah.

the *diwan* of Muzaffar Jang, went to Chanda Sahib's camp before Udaiyarpalayam and demanded a lakh of rupees for expenses; when the latter expressed his inability, he behaved disrespectfully and said, among other things, that he (Chanda Sahib) should not continue to live. There was for some time great likelihood of a revolution breaking out in the camp, while Chanda Sahib complained that the northern poligars did not join him effectively, as one Dabbili Rayappa Raja, presumably an adventurer, who promised him a big sum of money for being allowed to seize Bommarajapalayam, was being detained in custody at Pondicherry.

Letters were received early in December at Pondicherry from Nasir Jang and Muhammad Ali Khan. That of Nasir Jang promised to forgive the French their past offences if they should separate from their allies and be faithful to the Nizam in the future; otherwise he would order that the French factories should be pulled down and would write to Bengal to the same effect. Muhammad Ali's letter solicited French friendship and asked Dupleix to make peace with Nasir Jang and offered twice as much gains as the French might secure from his enemies. To this Dupleix replied exhorting Muhammad Ali to obey Muzaffar Jang's orders and win his favour, and through it, French friendship.¹ He had news—at least so he told the Diarist—that Sau Baji Rao had surrounded Nasir Jang and was harrassing him and the latter had abandoned the idea of coming down to the Carnatic and so Chanda Sahib need not fear him now. He was intent that Chanda Sahib should settle the Tanjore affair for at least 50 lakhs of rupees, so that he might get back all the amounts he had advanced to Muzaffar Jang.²

V. OPERATIONS AT TANJORE

The united forces of Muzaffar Jang and Chanda Sahib crossed the Coleroon into the Tanjore country on December 13. The French contingent with them was composed of 800 Europeans, a train of field

¹ Diarist's entries for December 7 and 9—pp. 289 and 290 of the *Diary*, vol. VI. The English records have another version of Nasir Jang's letter received from Muhammad Ali by Dupleix—see Country Correspondence, 1749, p. 60.

² The Diarist heard from Dupleix that these amounted to 40 lakhs; but Dodwell estimates that even if the advances made to Chanda Sahib were included, the total would still fall far short of 40 lakhs. Muzaffar Jang's debts to Dupleix and the French Company fell short of 7 lakhs, according to M. Cultru, even at a much later date—(Dodwell's note on p. 292 of vol. vi. of the *Diary*.)

artillery and 300 Coffres and Topasses. Chanda Sahib was being pressed for money on all sides. He was anxious to settle the affair for a large sum with the help of the Frenchman Duquesne who was in camp; he applied to Dupleix for guns, flints and cartridges; he complained of the importunate demands of Muzaffar Jang for money and of the slights he received at his hands. He kept Dupleix in good humour by sending his own *inam parwanas* for Tirunallār, Kōttaichēri and another place on whose possession the French Governor was bent and promised to send the Tanjore ruler's *parwanas* for these three places as soon as a settlement should have been arrived at with him.¹ Dupleix agreed to send a supply of guns and ammunition to Karaikal whither Chanda Sahib might send to fetch them. For six weeks Chanda Sahib allowed himself to be duped by protestations of good faith and promises of speedy payment made by Pratap Singh, the Raja of Tanjore. Chanda Sahib first gave him a peremptory order to pay all arrears of tribute due from the death of Nawab Safdar Ali in 1742, and contended that whatever might have been paid in the interval to Anwar-ud-din was not a tribute to the legitimate suzerain, but only a forced contribution exacted by and paid to a rebel authority. Pratap Singh shut himself up in his capital and offered to pay a ransom which was more agreeable to Chanda Sahib than either the reduction of the capital or the conquest of the kingdom. He did not permit his troops to approach nearer than three miles of the capital and requested the French troops not to commit hostilities.²

¹ Chanda Sahib's autograph letter received by Dupleix on December 14, said.—'Nawab Hidāyat Muhiud-din Khan has received great sums for one or two affairs he has settled, and slights me. If I quarrel with him, we shall fare ill; so I have entrusted this matter to M. Duquesne as then no one will question what is done. Vol. vi, p. 305 of *Diary*.

² The wily Tanjorean knew that by protracting time, he should increase the distress of his enemies, and in his letters expressed himself with so much seeming humility that Chanda Sahib suffered himself to be amused to the middle of December (O.S.) without having settled the terms of accommodation. In the meantime the king, corresponding with Muhammad Ali at Trichinopoly, joined with him in exhorting Nasir Jang at Golcondah, to come and settle the affairs of the Carnatic in person. . . . He likewise solicited the assistance of the English, who exhorted him to defend himself to the last extremity; but sent to his assistance no more than twenty Europeans who were detached from Trichinopoly and entered the city of Tanjore in the night.' (*Orme*, vol. i, p. 134-5.) See Diarist's details of the Raja's haggling in p. 399 of vol. vi.

News reached Pondicherry on December 19, that Nasir Jang who had advanced as far as Gulbarga had again gone back to Satara, but had ordered Sayyad Lashkar Khan to seize Adoni, Rayachoti and other places (belonging to Muzaffar Jang) south of the Krishna and that the latter had already captured Rayachoti and hoisted his flag there. Also the English were creating disturbances in the neighbourhood of Covelong which had been granted to Dupleix and over which French authority was being attempted to be enforced.¹

Report reached the next day that Chanda Sahib had asked the French commandant in his camp to write to Karikal that *toranam*s might be tied in the villages of Tirunallar and Kōttaichēri *nadus*, as a token of the establishment of French authority, though the Tanjore Raja's *parwana* had not been received. Chanda Sahib and Duquesne had surrounded the Tanjore fort, as Manoji Appa, the general of the Raja, insisted on a fight, in spite of his master's dissuasion and encamped in front of them.² The fight, according to the version of the Diarist, is at variance with the generally accepted version. The Diarist heard that in the engagement on December 17, the Tanjore forces were scattered and begged for quarter which was granted and then the French advanced and seized a gate of the Fort. According

¹ Letter of M. Bruno, French representative at Covelong, near Chingleput, to the Diarist (pp. 309-10 of *Diary*, vol. vi).

Grant-Duff, the historian of the Marathas, thus details the circumstances of Nasir Jang's troubles with the Marathas.—'Very shortly afterwards, intelligence was received of the defeat and death of Anwar-ud-deen . . . on which Nasir Jang applied to Rughoojee Bhonslay, for a body of his troops, promising to grant some cessions of territory as the reward of their service. He also summoned the whole of the Moghul dependents and tributaries in the Carnatic to be prepared to join his army, as he advanced to the southward. Moorar Rao Ghorepuray, as Jagheerदार of Ghooty, the Raja of Mysore, the Nabobs of Kurpa, Karnoul and Savanoor, and Muhammad Ally, second son of the late Anwar-ud-deen, with his supporters, and the President of the Council at Madras (Fort St. David?) were the principal authorities who joined or sent their troops to accompany Nasir Jang.' Before Shahu's death which occurred in December, 1749, Raghuji had sent his son Janoji to accompany Nasir Jang into the Carnatic with 10,000 horse.—pp. 511, 512 and 520 of *History of the Marathas*, 4th ed., vol. i.

² The Diarist wrote that he heard that Manoji Appa had raised a battery in the middle of the Mariamman Temple outside the Tanjore Fort and camped there with 4,000 horse, 30,000 foot and 500 or 600 English and Dutch (the figures are greatly exaggerated) and that he retired into the Fort after a fight on the 17th; M. Duquesne's letter received by Dupleix is alleged to make mention of an English flag in the Tanjore ranks which the French people took; the French then seized a gateway of the Fort of Tanjore (Diarist's entry for December 22, 1749).

to Malleson and Orme, the details are different. Malleson says that Duquesne, acting under positive instructions from Dupleix, captured three redoubts situated at a little distance from the walls on December 26; and three days later, after some fruitless negotiations, he assaulted and carried one of the gates of the town, after which the Raja gave in and concluded a treaty on the 31st, which included, among other provisions, that he should pay Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang 70 lakhs of rupees, remit the annual ground-rent due for the Karikal territory and add to the French possessions new territory comprising 81 villages¹. According to Orme, Dupleix, finding that his exhortations to Chanda Sahib had no effect, ordered the French captain to break off the negotiations by some signal act of hostility; and by this time Chanda Sahib likewise thought it necessary to deliver an attack and made a hostile demonstration round the walls for four days continuously; and on the fifth day, the French troops attacked three redoubts about 600 yards from the walls and carried them. Early the next morning the Raja sent proposals for accommodation. Chanda Sahib allowed him two days to consent to his proposals; and on the third, directed the French commandant to bombard the town with shells which act so frightened the Raja that he sent emissaries who in their turn wasted three days without concluding anything. The French commandant then renewed the bombardment and assaulted and carried one of the gates of the city². Then the Raja became serious about the conclusions of peace and ratified the treaty on December 21 (o.s.).

Anandaranga Pillai writes of letters from Duquesne, Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang, received at Pondicherry on December 22, and containing news of the fight with the Tanjoreans, their retreat, the French advance to the gate of the Fort and their capture of it, the grant of some armistice and the demand made for a crore of rupees by the allies. The seeming discrepancies between these versions are not very serious except perhaps the statement that a gateway of the Tanjore Fort was carried by the French attackers, much earlier according to our Diarist, than according to Orme and Malleson. Certain posts outside the town were certainly seized by the French on December 18, and envoys were sent out that day or the next day.

¹ *History of the French in India* (1893)—pp. 247-8.

² *History of Hindostan*, (fourth ed.),—Vol. i., pp. 135-6.

But Duquesne seized, according to these historians, one of the gates of the city on December 28—a discrepancy of dates which can be accounted for only by a confusion of the new and old styles of reckoning. The Diarist wrote, on December 28, that the Raja of Tanjore, despairing because his counsellors (like Manoji Appa) had brought matters to such a pass, and preferring death to the loss of his fort and country, fell upon the enemy who had crossed the ditch and seized the entrance to the Fort and drove them back to the Mariamman Temple where they were discussing terms yet. On January 5, Dupleix told the Diarist joyfully that Duquesne had written to him that the Tanjore affair had been settled by him for seventy lakhs of rupees, and a *purwana* for the French occupation of Tirunallār and other villages, eighty in all, had been obtained from the Raja as an *inam* attached to Karikal and that he had secured the yearly *peshcush* of 2,000 pagodas for Karikal; lastly, the Raja having paid a part of the amount agreed upon, the army was encamped two *kos* this (northern) side of Tanjore. A supplementary letter received three days later said that Chanda Sahib was to receive thirty lakhs in ready money and have some territories mortgaged for the balance and that he was to be requested to accept the amount in instalments. As usual there was a lot of wrangling and procrastination over the payment of the stipulated sum. The French Commandant of Karikal complained that the Tirunallār *jaghir* of eighty-one villages were but worth 40,000 pagodas, instead of 70,000, as first reported.¹

Throughout January and February the negotiations about the actual payment of money went on. It was the custom in those days that in these military collections, the first payment rarely exceeded a fourth part of the whole assessment. The Raja was a past master in the art of procrastination and contrived to delay the payment in full of the first instalment for several weeks.²

¹ According to the Diarist, Dupleix is said to have told him—'He (Le Riche, the Commandant) wants to cheat the Company. As you are the Company's courtier, you must manage them to the Company's benefit. Appoint proper men to manage them.' So far from Dupleix realizing even the estimated sum from the newly added villages, they actually realized only about 30,000 pagodas between 1750 and 1754, (vol. vi, of the *Diary*, p. 358).

² 'One day he sent gold and silver plate, and his officers wrangled like pedlars for the prices at which it should be valued; another day he sent old and obsolete coins, such as he knew would require strict and tedious examination; and then he sent jewels and precious stones, of which the value was still more difficult to

Dupleix saw clearly the danger of such procrastination especially as Nasir Jang was fast approaching the Carnatic. The death of the Maratha Raja Shahu at Satara in December 1749 had its remote repercussions even in Tanjore. Chanda Sahib, as soon as he received the news, seriously thought of renewing hostilities and capturing the fort of Tanjore; he even raised some batteries with that object and wrote to Dupleix requesting him to write to the French captain and the *jamadars* of sepoys not to plunder the fort when it should be captured.

The Commandant of Karikal wrote to Dupleix that Chanda Sahib entertained the design of capturing Tanjore and establishing his son as its ruler.¹ Dupleix who had a wider perspective of the political situation, was apprehensive that such an action on the part of Chanda Sahib might anger the great Maratha chiefs like the Peishwa Balaji Baji Rao, Fatteh Singh, Raghuji Bhonsle, Sripat Rao and others and incline them to support Nasir Jang;² and so he advised that

he ascertained. Chanda Sahib saw the drift of these artifices, and knowing them to be common practices, submitted to wait, rather than lose the money of which he was so much in want.' (Orme, vol. i, p. 136).

By February 10, articles of gold and silver and jewels worth about 7 lakhs only were paid to Chanda Sahib (Diarist's entry for the date—p. 362 of the *Diary*, vol. vi.).

¹ Letter of Le Riche to Dupleix, dated February 10, 1750—quoted by Dodwell from the Pondicherry Records (*Diary*, vol. vi, p. 363).

² The death of Raja Shahu produced a revolution in the Maratha State. The Peishwa acted with promptitude, made himself master of Satara fort, put down all pretensions of Shahu's widow and the aged Tara Bai who set up a spurious grandson of hers as king, got over Raghuji Bhonsle to his side by confirming him in his eastern possessions and giving him full powers in Bengal, Berar and Gondwana and quieted the opposition of other ministers like the Sachiv. He made himself the ruler of the Maratha state, since the inveterate malice of Tara Bai led to the imprisonment of the new king and the fall of the house of Sivaji. So far from Maratha leaders taking any offence at the action of Chanda Sahib, they were very busy at home, in the domestic revolution that followed the death of Shahu. Balaji himself was engaged in consolidating his own position of supremacy till the late monsoon of 1750.

Sripat Rao, the Pratinidhi, whom Dupleix mentions among the great Maratha leaders who might take offence at Chanda Sahib's proposed capture of Tanjore, died in November 1746, three years before Shahu; and his younger brother, Jagjivan, was now the Pratinidhi, but was degraded and imprisoned by Balaji Rao at this time for his adhesion to Sukwar Bai, the elder wife of Shahu (Kincaid and Parasnis, *A History of the Maratha People*, vol. ii, pp. 295 and 311). Fatteh Singh was like an adopted son of Rajah Shahu and was confirmed by the Peishwa in the possession of his *jaghirs* and in the title of the Raja of Akalkote. Raghuji Bhonsle was mollified as already told; his son Janoji Bhonsle who was with Nasir

Chanda Sahib should consider the future and avoid evils that might happen. He gave orders to the French captain and the *jamadars* of sepoys not to plunder the fort of Tanjore, even if Chanda Sahib should capture it¹ and obey the latter's orders.

VI. THE COMING OF NASIR JANG INTO THE CARNATIC AND THE RETREAT OF CHANDA SAHIB

Nasir Jang had advanced by February 10 as far as Sirpi; he sent two emissaries to Chanda Sahib at Tanjore to treat for peace. Dupleix was anxious that Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang should not make any agreement without his knowledge and the emissaries of Nasir Jang should be told that 'though we (Dupleix, Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang) have three bodies, our life is one; peace cannot be made without me (Dupleix); and if the matter is to be settled satisfactorily, they must come here (to Pondicherry).'²

Moro Pant and Khazi Dāyem—these were the two emissaries of Nasir Jang—are said by the Diarist in one place to offer terms to Muzaffar Jang, that Chanda Sahib was too busy with the Tanjore affair to care about the enemy's approach and that he was unwilling to do anything until the fort should be captured.³ Dupleix suspected that Muzaffar Jang might be purposely spreading the rumour that Nasir Jang was coming down rapidly into the Carnatic, because Chanda Sahib was not letting him manage the Tanjore affair and he hoped, by spreading such news, to cause confusion and prevent him from taking the fort.

But in spite of rumours that Nasir Jang had turned back, news arrived early in March that he had reached the Chengama passes.

Jang's army did not assert himself. Thus as Grant-Duff says:—'The arrangements before and consequent to (Shahu) Raja's death had, as already adverted to, prevented the Mahrattas from seizing an opportunity of enlarging their conquests in the Deccan, afforded by the absence of so great an army in the Carnatic. . . .'
Vol. i (4th ed.), p. 524.

¹ Chanda Sahib actually forbade Goupil, the French captain, to deliver an attack on the fort on February 24.

² Diarist's entry for February 10, 1759 (p. 367 of vol. vi).

³ On February 19, Chanda Sahib forbade an attack on the city in spite of Goupil, the French Commandant, desiring and urging it. Regarding this, Dodwell remarks that as yet Dupleix had not really become the master of the situation. 'The French were as yet neither masters, nor even partners, but auxiliary troops serving for hire.' (*Dupleix and Clive*, p. 45).

Chanda Sahib had, meanwhile, retreated from Tanjore¹ and had encamped on the northern side of the Coleroon in the neighbourhood of Chidambaram which was surrounded and plundered by a body of Maratha horse under Murari Rao who retreated on the approach of the Muhammadans. Murari Rao was joined by Moro Pant and the former fought a small action with the enemy near the old Coleroon, a little to the south of Chidambaram. Being continually harassed by the Maratha troops, and often repulsing them with the fire of the French field-pieces, Chanda Sahib, Muzaffar Jang and the French troops reached Tiruvathi (a temple-fort on the Pennar, near Panruti Railway station). Rumour came that the Marathas were actually joined by a body of English troops from Fort St. David, though it was not true. The Marathas had come up to the place, even before the French reached it and the fear of Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang was very great. The former reached Pondicherry on March 11. Immediately afterwards began their importunate demands for money. Dupleix refused to give him any amount, but promised to supply plenty of powder, shot and guns and also to pay the French soldiers and sepoys. But Chanda Sahib was timid, declared that this was not the proper time to attack Nasir Jang and desired to stay at Pondicherry till he should go away. Dupleix answered that he should advance and meet Nasir Jang, as otherwise he would be dishonoured.² Muzaffar Jang entered Pondicherry on March 15, and likewise importuned Dupleix for money. The latter scraped up somehow or other three lakhs of rupees, one lakh of this

¹ Dupleix seems to have advised now the seizure of Tanjore where Chanda Sahib and his ally might have 'maintained themselves until famine compelled the hosts of Nasir Jang to withdraw.' He also suggested that, according to the advice proffered by the killedar of Jinji, a body of European troops should be sent there along with ammunition (Diarist's entry for February 10—p. 369 of vol. vi of the Diary). But even this did not seem to have been taken advantage of by Chanda Sahib. Note Dupleix's words according to the Diarist—'I ordered them to march towards Jinji, but they have not gone there. I wrote . . . that if they occupied the Valudavur Fort . . . they could even drive Nasir Jang's army through the passes.'

² 'If you refuse to attack him you will dishonour me, your ally. . . . Put your trust in Him (God) and attack Nasir Jang. If he falls in battle you shall march to Aurangabad; and I will give you the subahs of the Deccan; but if it falls out as you fear, it is the will of God.' (Entry of the Diarist for March 14, 1759)—p. 394 of the *Diary*, vol. vi.

sum being got from the Company's merchants; and Muzaffar Jang gave a bill of exchange for this sum as well as for four lakhs that Chanda Sahib owed, on the treasury of the province of Adoni. The allies pitched their camp at Villiyanallur, almost under the very walls of Pondicherry, as if for protection from its guns. Large arrears were due to the troops and every day some tumult or mutiny among them was feared. Muzaffar Jang did not give to Chanda Sahib anything out of the sum that Dupleix advanced. The sepoy, horsemen and bazaar people belonging to Muzaffar Jang's camp had to be sternly ordered by Dupleix, on pain of being shot, to quit the bounds of Pondicherry where they were loitering, and join camp.

VII. FIRST ENCOUNTER WITH NASIR JANG

On the March 18, Nasir Jang's troops occupied Jinji; but the *killedar* that was appointed to that fort allowed the French at that place to depart with their money in peace; while Chanda Sahib's garrison at the fort quietly gave it up to the enemy. Chanda Sahib's sepoy and horsemen greatly troubled him for the payment of the arrears due to him; and Dupleix had to order M. d'Auteuil to encamp with French soldiers at Villiyanallur and see that the sepoy ceased to disturb Chanda Sahib. But in spite of French reinforcements and protection, Maratha horsemen hovered on the outskirts of the camp, broke into a choultry at Villiyanallur and killed some Coffre troops. The sense of insecurity that prevailed in the camp was great; and a rumour got about that Nasir Jang had reached Trichinopoly. On March 23, Chanda Sahib sent his *gumastah*, Rajo Pandit and Muhammad Raza Sahib with letters from himself and Nasir Jang's emissaries to the effect that they were willing to let Chanda Sahib retain the subah of Arcot, as he had been connected with that province for a number of years from the time of Nawab Sadatullah Khan and as the French Governor would not be content unless he were confirmed as the Nawab of the Carnatic. This and another communication received from Chanda Sahib the next day, made the Diarist suspect that 'he (Chanda Sahib) was waiting to see which way the cat would jump' and hoped that Dupleix would advise the making of peace with Nasir Jang,

particularly as he himself was to be confirmed in the possession of Arcot.¹

Uncertainty continued to prevail till the end of March when the sixth volume of the *Diary* terminates. An action took place on April 4, between Nasir Jang's forces and the allies; but little injury was done to either side; on the evening of that day, thirteen French officers insisted on resigning their commissions and returning immediately to Pondicherry. This action, made in face of the enemy, is condemned as 'even more disgraceful than the mutiny of the English officers in Bengal in 1766.' The French troops had become unreliable and their officers demoralized. It is indeed true that the French contingent had borne the brunt of fighting at Ambur and before Tanjore. But the fighting before Tanjore was not serious; and many of the French officers, when the army had returned, insisted on being relieved from field-duty. Those who replaced them had been placated by the advance of a month's *batta*; but even so they hesitated. D'Auteuil wrote to Dupleix from camp on April 1, that fifteen officers refused to fight, because 'our army is too small to attack the enemy's 50,000 horse, besides 2,000 sepoy and ten or twelve guns belonging to the English . . . we can be safe only under the walls of a fortress; how can we conquer an enemy who has both men and walls, whereas we lack both?' Muzaffar Jang and Chanda Sahib also wrote that all the officers and soldiers opposed d'Auteuil's fighting, as the enemy was strong with great stores of powder and shot, guns and good artillery men, the Muhammadans could not shoot well before the English and could not fight without shelter or bear the heat.²

¹Muzaffar Jang, whom Nasir Jang was resolved to abase, seeing that Chanda Sahib was wavering, sent a letter to Dupleix in which he urged that d'Auteuil and his army should attack the enemy and this was not the time to halt. Dupleix himself had, on the receipt of the offers made on behalf of Nasir Jang, ordered the French troops to halt, expecting that peace would be made (Dodwell's note based on Dupleix's letter to the Company, dated October 3, 1750, quoted on p. 426 of the *Diary*, vol. vi.)

²Diarist's entry for April 1, 1750 (pp. 9 and 10 of vol. vii. of the *Diary*. Later the *Diary* tells us that the Governor sent M. Bussy to advise the mutinous officers to obey and the latter went to the camp and persuaded them to agree to fight. (Chanda Sahib's explanation to the Diarist made on April 5.)

After the cannonade of April 4, and the mutinous refusal of the French officers to continue in camp, d'Auteuil, finding that the soldiers refused to fight without their officers, retired on Villiyannallur, much to the chagrin and mortification of Dupleix, accompanied by Chanda Sahib and 4,000 of his horse. Muzaffar Jang, however, refused to move, saying that Nasir Jang's people had come to treat with him after the engagement of the previous day and that he preferred to remain where he was, even at the risk of his life. This meant that Muzaffar Jang had deserted his allies; Dupleix ordered a strict guard to be placed over the house where his family resided. Chanda Sahib was inclined to throw the blame for this cowardly retreat on d'Auteuil; he declared that the Maratha officers were ready to abandon Nasir Jang who, just before the engagement, was inclined to retreat; but Muhammad Ali, Mahfuz Khan and others tried to restrain him from such a dishonourable action. At such a moment he urged d'Auteuil to attack Nasir Jang; but he obstinately refused as all his officers had departed; the Europeans scattered in all directions; d'Auteuil and a few soldiers went one way; Muzaffar Khan, the *jāmadar*, went another way; and his sepoy, a third. Muzaffar Jang declared that he could not incur the disgrace of running away out of fear; Chanda Sahib was pursued by Maratha horsemen and could not reach Muzaffar Jang's camp; when in the early morning the retreating army was surrounded by the enemy, they fought so well that Mahfuz Khan fell and Muhammad Ali was wounded—quite false news told by Chanda Sahib, who wanted to persuade others that he could have won in the engagement, if d'Auteuil had not retreated. Chanda Sahib also wanted to persuade the Diarist that Muzaffar Jang was in no way at fault, that he had not any previous design of joining Nasir Jang in which case he would have secured the restoration of his family from Pondicherry and that affairs were spoiled by d'Auteuil and not by Muzaffar Jang. Of course Dupleix threw the entire blame on Muzaffar Jang; but he permitted Chanda Sahib to negotiate with Murari Rao and his companion to abandon Nasir Jang, in return for Tadpatri and the neighbouring country which were to be given to him¹.

¹ Diarist's entry for April 5,—pp. 17-22 of the *Diary*, vol. vii.

Nasir Jang, on entering the Carnatic, first summoned Muhammad Ali to join him from Trichinopoly and wrote letters to Fort St. David requesting the English to send him a body of European troops. He ordered his own army to concentrate under the hills of Jinji and the protection of its walls. Nasir Jang himself seems to have reached Jinji about the last week of March. Muhammad Ali joined him with about 6,000 horse at Valudavur, about 10 miles from Pondicherry; the English detachment under Cope which had been sent previously to Trichinopoly to Muhammad Ali, accompanied him. On March 28, Nasir Jang was encamped between Villupuram and Koliyanur; the English troops were said to be about 200 English soldiers, 100 *mestizos* and 200 *topasses* besides 400 sepoy.¹ Moreover additional troops from Fort St. David were sent under the command of Lawrence. The camp stretched for about five miles from north to south and three miles from east to west. It was heard and recorded by the Diarist that the Marathas and Kallars in Nasir Jang's camp made a sortie or two on the French camp on that afternoon, but there was nothing that could be called fighting. Even in this situation, an emissary from Nasir Jang arrived to treat for peace, to whom, in the presence of Bussy, Muzaffar Jang replied that there could be no talk of peace without the approval of Dupleix. The emissary offered to grant *jaghirs* to both Muzaffar Jang and Chanda Sahib and to repay the amounts they had borrowed from the French. Muzaffar Jang to whom the emissary came, sent for a French representative to be present during the conversations and his reply was given in the presence of Bussy.² Dupleix wrote to Chanda Sahib that any negotiation should be conducted only through himself; otherwise he was not for any compromise at all. Shortly afterwards Nasir Jang's engagement took place, on account of which the English Captain Cope, and the French Commandant, d'Auteuil, exchanged 'mutual recriminations regarding the breach of peace between the two nations.' Lawrence, with an English embassy was also present in Nasir Jang's

¹ The figures are not accurate.

² Diarist's entry for March 31—pp. 435-48 of vol. vi. This is an effective support of Chanda Sahib's opinion that Muzaffar Jang had no preconceived plan of making his own terms with and submitting to Nasir Jang and that Dupleix's estimate of him was not fully justified.

camp; and he no doubt inspired Cope's recriminations with d'Auteuil.¹ Thus the beginning was made of the direct conflict between the two Companies on the eve of the great revolution that was to see the fall of Nasir Jang and the triumph of the French.

¹ Orme estimates the troops under d'Auteuil at 2,000 Europeans; and the English troops that came with Lawrence at 600. But Dodwell shows that besides the detachment of 100 under Cope that came from Trichinopoly, only about 200 men were sent subsequently from Fort St. David (Dupleix and Clive, p. 46, footnote 5.)

Gollapallee Diamond Mines

BY

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[NOTE:—This was presented to the Indian Historical Records Commission in December last at its Patna Session and is published here by permission.]

SIR STREYNHAM MASTER'S ACCOUNT OF THE GOLLAPALLEE DIAMOND MINES.

THE extract given below is taken from the Diary of the President of Council at Fort St. George, Sir Streynsham Master, who succeeded Sir William Langhorn as President of the Factory, and was in turn succeeded by Sir William Gyfford. The period of his office extended from January 1678 to July 3, 1681. The Diary here extracted actually refers to the dates April 20, 1679 to April 22, 1679. Master went to Masulipatam and places in the vicinity. Having completed his business of inspection and examination of accounts, he started on the return journey, and made a diversion from Madapollam to Ellore with a view to visit the diamond mines, which apparently were known to him, as Mr. Nathaniel Cholmley, another of the Company's servants, made purchases of diamonds in the mines for the Company. As is clear from the Diary itself, the road from Ellore to Bezwada passes through the mines at the foot of the hill to Mustabad, and thence to Bezwada, the whole mining area being covered by the road. There are many points of interest in the account of the mines as given by Master. This mine came into existence in 1670 first of all, was soon abandoned, and the license for mining here was renewed in 1673, when the other famous mine at Kollur had been abandoned, apparently owing to exhaustion. The licensing of this mine began soon after Abul Hasan Qutb Shah had established himself on the throne of Golkonda in succession to Abdullah Qutb Shah. The description given of the mine, the processes of manufacture in the extraction of the diamonds, the public arrangements under which the operations of mining were permitted, and the mineral value of the industry as such—all of them come in for remark by Master. This detailed description challenges comparison with that given by Tavernier, who visited other mines in the vicinity, and not this one in particular, as this had not come into existence at the time Tavernier visited these mines.

Tavernier's visit to the mine of Kollur, not very far off, and to that at Ramallakotta, just before that, both took place in the reign of Abdulla Qutb Shah, the predecessor of the ruler who licensed actually the Gollapallee mines. The visit apparently took place in the fifties of the seventeenth century, actually before the year A. D. 1655, when he visited Mir Jumla at Gandikotta. What Tavernier has to say, therefore, of the working of the mines of Golkonda, both at Ramallakotta and at Kollur, both of them in the Kurnool District and its immediate neighbourhood, have reference consequently to the arrangements under Abdulla Qutb Shah. Of course, Tavernier's account is not always reliable in every detail. He claims to be the first European to describe these mines, whereas three or four others before him,¹ have left accounts of these mines. He says in his account of the visit to Ramallakotta mines thus, 'I am able to claim that I have cleared the way for others, that I am the first European who has opened the route to the Franks to these mines, which are the only places in the world where the diamond is found.' A few sentences before, he mentions that he had been at four mines, the four being according to his account Ramallakotta (Ravalakonda in the Kurnool District); Coulour (Kollur or Gani Kollur now in the Sattanapallee Taluq of the Guntur District) and Soumeilpur in the Lohardaga District of Bihar. The fourth mine is not specifically mentioned by him, and has been identified with an abandoned mine near Damarapad and Malavaram where old excavations were visible when Ball examined the sites. So we see Tavernier travelled in about the same locality; but the actual workings at Gollapallee, as a matter of fact, came into existence after his time.

The details of the working, etc., he gives of the Kollur mines, which he visited, he describes in chapter xvi of his work. He puts this down at seven days' journey east of Golkonda and says 'it was called Gani in the *language of the country*, and Colour in the Persian tongue.' From the description given of it, the place has been located correctly enough at Kollur, situated in the loop of the river Krishna where an outcrop of the Nallamalais spreads itself and provides a suitable ground for this industry. It is almost in the middle of a line

¹ Cesare Federici, Methold, Linschoten and Fryer, not to mention the anonymous Portuguese gentleman who visited Vajra Karur in 1610.

drawn from Bellamkonda to Jaggayyapetta, and is in the Sattanapallee Taluq of the Guntur District. This was apparently called Gani Kollur, sometimes merely Gani, to distinguish the place from another Kollur lower down on the river Krishna, also called Kollur in the *language of the country*, that is by the people, the language being of course, Telugu. The word therefore means a mine, as it is even in Kanarese, as one might say in the vernacular languages of the country, as the Kolar Gold Fields now are generally referred to by the name Gani. It is not a Persian word, as Tavernier, and even Sir William Crooke, the latest commentator on the work, take it. The word is neither Persian, nor is the construction of the word given correctly. It is in fact *Sans.* Khanin adopted into the Dravidian languages. In describing this mine, he speaks of a diamond of 900 carats; it is 900 *ratīs* elsewhere, equivalent to 787½ carats. He further refers to the mine as of importance because of the unusually large number of larger diamonds that have been found there. He then goes on to describe the way in which the Indians examined the stones, and mentions that there were as many as 60,000 workmen engaged, including men, women and children, and notes that the working here was different from that which he noticed at Ramallakotta. The process of lixiviation, for washing the stones of the earth sticking to it, is given here differently. A space is enclosed by a short wall running round it with holes at the bottom for running off the water. All the diggings are carried into this place and water is thrown the earth to soften first of all. After a day or two of this treatment, it is reduced to the consistency of a pulp; and then they pour more water and open the holes to drain off the water. Then again they pour more water to wash away the rest of the earth. They let it dry in the sun and after winnowing the dust, they pass on to the second process. They spread the gravel-like pebbles on even ground, and make it level. By means of wooden dampers they pound it and after winnowing again, they sit down to pick the diamonds from among the gravelly pebbles. This differs, of course, from the process that Master describes in some particulars, and so far as these processes are concerned, they are bound to differ from locality to locality, according to the character of the soil from which diamonds are actually dug out.

In regard to the arrangements for mining itself, here is what Tavernier has to say, and it will be found that this differs to some

extent materially from Master's description. The following is Tavernier's. 'I come to the government of the mines. Business is conducted with freedom and fidelity. Two per cent on all purchases is paid to the king, who receives also a royalty from the merchants for permission to mine. These merchants having prospected with the aid of the miners, who know the spots where the diamonds are to be found, take an area of 200 paces in circumference, where they employ fifty miners and sometimes a hundred if they wish the work to proceed rapidly. From the day they commenced mining till they finished, the merchants pay a duty of two pagodas per diem for fifty men, and four pagodas when they employ a hundred men.' 'These poor people get only *three pagodas per annum*, although they must be men who thoroughly understand their work. As their wages are so small, they do not show any scruple when searching the sand in concealing a stone for themselves when they go and dig naked, save for a small cloth, which covers their private parts, they adroitly contrive to swallow it.' This differs in two particulars from Master's narrative. The licensing fee that has to be paid is *two pagodas per diem* according to Tavernier, but according to Master, it is *three pagodas per mensem* up to forty men, and four or five pagodas if more men are employed. In regard to the other point, their *annual earnings* are only *three pagodas per annum* according to Tavernier; Master notes that they receive *a pagoda and a quarter per mensem* in money and corn. What is more, he notes the appearance and condition of the worker as good by direct observation. Perhaps this second discrepancy may be explained away by taking it that the labourers received three pagodas per annum in cash, and grain for the rest of it, Tavernier noting down only the cash perhaps forgetting the grain. This is a little too much of a modification of the author's statement, and there are no grounds which would justify our assuming it. This objection to the assumption is strengthened by the statement that we find made in the Earl Marshal of England's paper presented to the Royal Society, London, published in 1677, just one year after the first edition of Tavernier's work itself. It would perhaps go to show that Tavernier's statement is correct for the period that he recorded, and for the particular mine to which it has reference. But unfortunately, we have no knowledge of the sources of information for the Earl Marshal's paper. It is generally taken that it is information supplied by Nathaniel Cholmley, who was

employed for buying diamonds for the Company at Fort St. George. Cholmley was a contemporary of Master, and was engaged in this work at the time, to which Master's notes refer, and he left Madras at the same time as Master himself. If Cholmley were actually the source from which the Earl Marshal drew his information, it is much more difficult to understand the inconsistency of statement which really becomes an inconsistency between Cholmley the diamond buyer and Master, almost his employer, who visited the mines at Gollapallee. The differences could not be altogether due to the differences of locality. One explanation seems possible and that is, Tavernier's statement refers to a period when Abdullah Qutb Shah was the ruler, and the organization of the mines and their work were those of Mir Jumla; whereas Master's notes have reference to a mine that actually was licensed to be worked by Abul Hasan Qutb Shah his successor, and the organization might be those of his ministers, Madanna and Akkanna. In such a case, the difference may be explainable as being due to a really more liberal arrangement under the new ruler who perhaps improved upon the rack-renting arrangements under the previous regime, and it may well be so, as the Gollapallee mines started work after the Kollur mines had ceased to yield.

The route by which Tavernier reached the Kollur mines presents problems, which are not perhaps quite capable of a final settlement as yet. We shall not take that up here, as in all the discussions in connection with these and even in the notes by Sir William Crooke, valuable as they are in very many particulars, no reference is made to the entry in the Diary of Master,¹ and hence it seems worth while drawing attention to this note of Master.

EXTRACT FROM STREYNHAM MASTER'S DIARY

Having finished what was thought necessary to be done in this visitation of these factories, in the morning about 8 Miles: 9 o'clock, we set forward upon our journey to return to Vera-sheroone. Madraspatnam intending to go the upward inland way and to make an elbow to take a sight of the Diamond

¹ *Diary and Consultations for 1679-80*, pp. 100-1.

Sir Richard Temple: *Diary of Sir Streynsham Master* II, pp. 170-77. The extract from the Diary appended is slightly modernized and punctuated for the convenience of the ordinary reader of the *Journal of Indian History*. (Editor.)

Mines. We went this forenoon to Verasheroone¹ which is about 9 or 10 miles from Madapollam, those two places and Pollicull making a triangle. We viewed the Company's two houses at Verasheroon which stand one over against the other in one street, both of them part fallen to the ground, and that which stands of them it was not safe to adventure in to see them. The compounds of the houses are small but well situated, being raised high from the streets, above a mile from the town. There is a very large mango garden of the Company's by which the tent was pitched for us; but the Country Governors claiming the right to the fruit of the trees by reason we have neglected it, the Agent gave order to Mr. Hatton to send 4 or 5 peons from Madapollam every year about mangoe season, which is at this time of the year, to watch the trees and gather the fruit to send to Madapollam, thereby to preserve the Company's right and title to the garden. There are also two other small gardens nearer the town belonging to the Company; but all lie waste, and only the great trees standing to shade the cattle and travellers from the sun. These with many others that are (about) this town would very well accommodate weavers to work under, if the place were rented of the King by the Company² and kept under their government which was now adjudged to be for the Company's interest, keeping only a warehouse at Verasheroone, and the factory to continue at Madapollam. But the town of Verasheroone is now ruined and empty of people through the tyranny of the Government.

In the morning by break of day we parted with Mr. Hatton, etc. the factors that came to accompany us thus far on our way, and about noon we reached Pentepoll³ reckoned 2½ gentu leagues.

We set forward early in the night, and by 9 or 10 in the morning came to Ellore 3 gentu leagues. This Ellore is reckoned one of the greatest towns in this country. The King in his last progress coming to see it, where are made the best carpets after the

¹ This is Viravāsaram in Bhīmāvaram Taluq, Godavari District. Important Eng: Factory from 1635; only one person 1661; in decay 1668, and laid down 1674. Finally abandoned in 1702. (Temple Diaries of Sir Streynsham Master II, pp. 170-7.)

² Marshall gives a similar account in his notes and observations of East Indies: (Diaries of Sir Str: Master, Ed. by Sir Richard Temple II, 170, n. 3.)

³ Pentapād in the Tanuku Taluq, Godavari District.

manner of those in Persia, by a race of Persians who they told us came over above 100 years ago, the manner of making them we saw, and is in brief thus, the loom is stretched right up and down made of cotton threads and the carpet wrought upon them with the woollen yarn of several colours by young boys of 8 to 12 years old. A man with the pattern of the work drawn upon paper stands at the back side of the carpet, and directs the boys that work it, how much of each colour of yarn should be wrought in. Every thread being wrought they shear or cut it with a pair of scissors and then proceed to the next.¹ At this place a horse of the Company's which we took with us from Madapollam falling lame, we left him here with one of our English men and a peon to return to Madapollam.

At Ellore we lodged in a house of Aga Jalal's whose brother-in-law prepared us victuals, and gave us hens and sheep, to whom for his kindness and, in respect to Aga Jalal who married his sister, we presented three yards of scarlet at parting.

About two o'clock in the morning we set out of Ellore, and about 7 arrived at Gollapalle² upon the Diamond Mines and lodged in the house where Mr. Cholmley made his investment of diamonds the last year. In the afternoon about 4 o'clock we went to the mines about a mile and half out of town upon a hill to see them dig and look for the diamonds, which is done after this manner; the ground is loose, of a red fat sand and gravel, great and small, black, red and white stones. One or two of the miners loosen the earth with an iron *grow*,⁴ and others with iron *pawraes*^(a) or spades heave it up to a heap from whence others with baskets wind the small dust from it with the wind. Thence it is carried to a trough made up of stones and earth, and filled with water which is brought thither above a mile upon men's heads, where all the gross earth is washed away from the gravel; for the earth melts like sugar, and runs out of

¹ Ellore still maintains this reputation for its carpets.

² Gollapalle in the Nuzvid Zamindari 25 miles N.-E. of Bézvada. See Madras Presidency Sheet Atlas, Sheet 3.

³ The pits are in gravelly laterite resting on sandstones' according to Billgrami and Wilmott's *Nizam's Dominions*, I, p. 234.

⁴ Error for crow used for crowbar in the 17th century.

^(a) This seems another vernacular expression for a digging apparatus more or less like a crowbar, a big, long pick or pike.

a hole with the water, so the gravel is all that remains. That they carry thence and spread upon a smooth flat place prepared for the purpose. There the same men (that dig, dust and wash the earth), sit all the heat of the day in a rank one by another with their faces towards the sun, looking for the diamonds. And the man that employs them sits over against them, to see that what they find they deliver to him. In this manner they find the diamonds in the same fashion and shape as they are sold rough. By what we observed the cost and labour of finding them countervails the value and worth of the diamonds. Those that employ the miners do not buy the ground as some have reported; but they and any one that has a desire to employ his money that way first acquaints the governor of the mines with it. Then he grants him license to spring a mine where the employer thinks best, paying 3 pagodas per mensem if he employ no more than 10, 20, 30 or 40 men in it. If more, then 4 and of some 5 pagodas per mensem.¹ The miners or those labourers that work in the mines are paid 1½ pagodas per mensem in money and corn,² and this is all the charge the adventurer in the mines is at, except it be that they overbid one another sometimes for a good piece of ground which one hath lighted upon, and another hearing of it bids the governor money for it and he that gives most has it. But besides the rent of 3 to 5 pagodas per mensem to the governor for the king there is a custom or excise set upon all corn at about 50 per cent above the market; upon salt, betel and tobacco at above double and treble the market rate. All the miners and those that deal there (except a privileged Englishman or such like) are compelled to live upon the mines in those towns where that excise is raised. The town of Gollapallee though within a mile and a half of the mines is without those limits, and therefore none of the miners or dealers in diamonds are allowed to live there, but at Mellwillee³ about 4 or 5 miles from Gollapallee, where the

¹ In the mines at Ramallakotta, according to Tavernier, 'the merchants pay a duty of 2 pagodas per diem for 50 men, and 4 pagodas when they employ 100 men.' (Tavernier, Crooke's Edn. II, 46. According to Thevenot, 'the king exacted a pagoda every hour they work there whether they find any diamonds or no.' Quoted in Biligrami and Willmott's *the Nizam's Dominions* II, 505.

² 'These poor people only earn 3 pagodas per annum, although they must be men who thoroughly understand their work' Crooke's Tavernier II, 46.

³ This name appears as Mullally in sheet 94 of Indian Atlas. The following extract from the Earl Marshal's paper of 1677 in the Philosophical Transactions

governor of the mines lives. The whole rent of these mines is reckoned to the King worth 60,000 pagodas per annum, and as much more to the governor to bribe the courtiers to hold the place. There was none of the mines that we saw this day which were dug above three feet deep from the surface of the earth, and most of them about two feet. The ground first overgrown with shrubs and bushes which the miners dig up with the earth. These mines lie upon a flat hill upon the top and on the side of it, where are found small and great diamonds of good and bad waters but very little bort,¹ and they say that the adventurers in these mines seldom lose in their undertakings.

This morning came several of the most eminent merchants from the mines to visit us at Gollapallee, and to try how we were inclined to buy. At first they asked moderate rates, which when we bought they raised and afterwards would not shew more but what they asked dear for, so we could not lay out 1,000 pagodas amongst us all for fear of injuring the market. At 3 in the afternoon we set out of Gollapallee, passed over the mines to Mellwillee and Raizpent² which is about 6 miles, almost all that ground being spread with miners. And the mines in the valleys were much deeper than those upon the hills, being some of them 10 and 12 feet deep, and some mines were sprung upon ground where corn had been sown and reaped a few months since. The governor of the mines at Mellwillee sent to compliment

gives the history of the mines. 'Melwillee or the new mine, so called because it was but lately found out (or at least permitted to be made use of) in the year 1670, it had then a year employed the miners, but it was forbidden and lay unoccupied till 1673, when complaints being made at Quoleur (Kollur), that the vein was worn out, the king again licensed its settlement. The earth they mine in, is very red and many of the stones found there have (some) of it sticking to them, as if it had clung there while they were of a soft glutinous substance and had not attained that hardness, maintaining its colour on its skin (to be roughened with it) that it cannot be fetched out by grinding on a rough stone with such seeming, which they make use of to clean them. The stones are generally well-shaped . . . most of them have a thick dull skin, incline to a yellowish water not altogether so strong and lively as the other mines, very few of them of a crystallized water and skin. (Temple; Master's Diary ii, 173-4.)

¹ Diamonds of a quality too coarse to be fit for jewellery.

² These places are neither of them found in the new Indian Atlas issued by the Survey of India. Temple gives reference to sheet 94 as stated above, but the Atlas with me does not show it; nor does the Route-Map of the Madras Presidency in sheets.

the Agent and excuse his not coming out to meet him as he said he intended to do, to which a civil answer was returned. The two towns at Melwillee and Raizpent upon the mines are very large and populous; but the buildings all thatched hovels. The people are well favoured, well clothed, and look as though they fed well to undergo their great and hot labour. The corn etc., being at excessive rates,¹ the place must needs be full of money to pay 30, or 40,000 labourers in the mines besides many others, the diamonds being also always bought with ready money. The country pleasant like England about London; by Raizpent is a large pleasant green valley full of flocks of woolly sheep; thence to Mustabad² where we lodged this night, we travelled through a mountainous country, by very pleasant valleys with tanks of water, and came to our journey's end about 8 at night, having travelled two Gentu leagues.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE ON MULLAVELLY

'A village near Ellore. It belongs to the Nizam who, in ceding the Circars, specially reserved the villages in which diamonds are found.

'Diamonds are found in its vicinity. Some account of the geology of the place is extant, from which the following extract may be offered: "Near the village the plain is strewn with blocks and fragments of a very hard conglomerate sandstone, some pieces of which are of a purplish colour. There are also some large blocks of garnetic gneiss, in a state of decomposition; but the red sandstone abounds most, although rolled pieces of quartz, with a covering of a ferruginous clay, or carbonate of iron, together with the conglomerate sandstone, are scattered over the plain. The hollow flat, where the diamond pits are excavated, is surrounded by a bank, or rising of the soil in a circular

¹. Ball notes: 'We are told in the Earl Marshal's paper that in Golkonda, the miners and merchants were much oppressed, and in a miserable state of poverty, from having to submit to tyrannical squeezing and heavy duties on provisions, tobacco and betel.' (Crooke's *Tavernier* II, 354.) If Mr. Nathaniel Cholmley is to be given responsibility for this statement, how is this to be reconciled with Mr. Master's?

². A station on the railway line between Bezvada and Ellore in the Nuzvid State.

manner. It has the appearance of having been once a lake. The banks are formed of the red ferruginous sandy soil, prevailing all round the place. Through this plain no river or rivulet flows, and the pools in its lower part, dry up about the month of March, when the excavation may commence, and not before."

'A few hills in the vicinity lie to the northward, not above two or three hundred feet above the plain, and are covered with underwood, interspersed with large trees. Some miles beyond these hillocks runs another range, loftier than the nearer ones, having however the same direction.

'The diamond pits are in general excavated at the north end of the bank that surrounds the hollow, to a depth of not more than twelve feet. The strata penetrated during the search for diamonds, are a grey, clayey, vegetable mould, about a foot or two thick; below this an alluvium, composed of the following pebbles (not including the diamonds) which have evidently undergone attrition, their angles having been worn off; sandstone, quartz, siliceous iron hornstone, carbonate of iron, felspar, conglomerate sandstone, and a prodigious quantity of kunkur, or concretionary limestone. Besides the numerous pieces of this concretionary rock, scattered on the surface of the soil, and also intermixed in large quantities in the diamond alluvium, it forms regular strata or veins in a horizontal position, both in the vegetable earth, and in the diamond alluvium, precisely like flints in chalk. Many of the pebbles of quartz, and hornstone, are not only varnished as it were, with a ferruginous *enduit*, but it penetrates into their substance.

'The kunkur contains not a trace of quartz, or any other mineral; and that in strata, in the vegetable soil, and in the diamond alluvium, is more friable than that exposed on the surface of the ground. It is in this alluvial detritus that the diamonds are found. The diamond is never found imbedded, or in any way attached to any of the pebbles, with which they are invariably associated in this locality. They are always found loose, mixed with other little stones, and never attached to kunkur. The pebbles most constantly associated with it, and forming infallible indications of the existence of diamond, are iron ore and hornstone.

'Notwithstanding the prodigious quantity of carbonate of lime in this locality, the water does not contain any traces of it; and the

inhabitants use even that collected in the pits. The detritus, forming the diamond stratum, must proceed from the hills north, the only ones near this place; being probably the continuation of the sandstone range, which extends easterly from Banganapilly, Condapilly, and Mullavelly, in all of which localities the matrix of the diamond lies in conglomerate sandstone.'

Note.—The above is an extract from *Pharaoh's Gazetteer of Southern India*, pages 56 and 57. This work was published in 1855 and the condition of the mining locality about that time is what is reflected in the quotation.

Reviews

'A HISTORY OF KERALA, WRITTEN IN THE FORM OF NOTES ON VISSCHER'S LETTERS FROM MALABAR'

BY

K. PADMANABHA MENON,

AND EDITED BY

SAHITYAKUSALAN T. K. KRISHNA MENON

[Vol. ii, 1929—Printed at the Cochin Government Press, Ernakulam.]

THE first volume of this book, published in 1924, had for its nominal subject, the first eight letters of Jacobus Canter Visscher, a Dutch chaplain who lived at Cochin in the years 1717–23, embodying his observations on the manners and customs of the people of Malabar, their kingdoms and modes of administration, laws, rites and ceremonies; and this volume takes us further through the Letters ix–xix. Visscher's *Letters* have been made use of by other writers on the History of Cochin. Mr. Padmanabha Menon, who wrote a *History of Cochin* in two volumes in Malayalam, made use, according to the Editor, of some portion of the valuable notes he prepared for Canter Visscher's *Letters*. Objection may well be taken to the title of the book which is really a series of topics dealing with various aspects of the ancient history and civilization of the people of the Malabar Coast. The *Letters* of Visscher which form the formal basis of the work, include topics of varying importance. Dutch sources of information for the history of Cochin in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are numerous and valuable and include worthy observers and writers like Baldaeus, Nieuhoff, Canter Visscher and Stavorinus among others. Visscher touched in the previous volume upon the situation and significance of the name of Malabar, traditions of its first colonisation, a description of Cochin, Calicut and other places, the customs of the Portuguese, the methods of Dutch colonial administration and the state of the English trade; in the present volume his Letters deal with the royal houses of Malabar, prevalence of trial by ordeal, Cochin revenues

and government, national assemblies collected in times of emergency, coins, customs of the people, accounts of the Syrian Christians, the Roman Catholic priests, the Jews of Cochin, the Moors of the coast and the ecclesiastical and temporal grandees of the country. In the elaborate annotations of the book, we find that the matter sometimes becomes necessarily disjointed and varying in length as well as in importance. The Editor has attempted in the preface a justification of this method of treatment into which we need not now enter. Certain it is that some of the longer notes are very valuable and informing, particularly those dealing with the Zamorin and the Syrian Christians, and with the prevalent ordeals and administration of criminal justice.

In the first chapter of Notes, the Attingal Kingdom and its connection with the origin of the Travancore Dynasty are clearly brought out; and we are told that Attingal is identical with *Kupadēsam* mentioned among the Chola conquests in the inscriptions of Raja Raja I and the *Kalingattu-pparani* as well as in a Travancore inscription of A.D. 1576. The statement is also made that the present Ruling House of Travancore represents the early Chera dynasty in all likelihood, though the caution is given that an uninterrupted line of succession cannot be traced. Quilon, known as Signati (Desinganād or Jayasimhanād), played a very prominent part in the early struggles of the Portuguese; but it subsequently declined in importance until it was annexed by the powerful Martanda Varma. The Cochin family claims direct descent in the female line from the last Cheraman Perumal; while the Hebrew version of the Perumal's grant of privileges to the Jews of Cochin is said to contain a statement that the Raja of Cochin was not called on to witness the deed, because he was the Perumal's heir. The Zamorins cut a conspicuous figure in the political arena of Malabar from very early times and trace their origin to a grant of the last Perumal to two Eradi brothers who were empowered to carve out as much land as they could with the aid of a sword with which they were invested. They continued to play a prominent part till late in the eighteenth century, when they were subdued by Hyder Ali. The Colastri Rajas receive a long note, particularly full about their dealings with the Europeans. The author supplies at the end of this chapter a list of the Nair militia which was in the service of the lords of Malabar, as preserved by Captain Alexander Hamilton who got it

from the papers of Heer Van Rheede, then Dutch Commissary-General for the East.

The chapter on the administration of justice describes the methods by which oaths were administered and the ordeals which were intensively prevalent till almost the beginning of the nineteenth century. These ordeals were not confined to the Hindus and were in use among the Moors also, according to the testimony of Barbosa. That Christians were also subjected to these is evident from the sixteenth decree of the Synod of Diamper (A.D. 1599) which warned them against submitting to such heathen tests. Ordeals were first resorted to mostly in criminal cases, but gradually came to be popular in the adjudication of civil disputes also. Slavery, its origin and its recruitment are all described in a compact and clearly arranged note. It was not till 1854-5 that slavery was formally abolished in Travancore and Cochin. The author points out the evident mistakes in Visscher's account of the prevailing land-tenures and supplements the note with a short account of the systems of land-tenure extant in Malabar. He attributes a military origin to the Kanam tenure and details the series of transactions which had to be fulfilled in order that full freehold could be transferred to the purchaser, who got consequently an ownership in the soil as complete as was ever enjoyed by an English freeholder. The art of conveyancing was very highly developed before the stamp and registration laws came into force and was embodied perfectly in the *Vyavaharamala* which has now become a sealed book to most people. A description of the various items of taxation and revenue is accompanied by an account of the national institution of hunting, in connection with which the local chief had the right to appropriate to himself specified portions of each wild game animal slain. *Changālam* or protection fee and *raksha-bhogam* which bears a close resemblance to tribute for general protection, were levied; and there seems to have been no regular land-tax as such which was unknown in Malabar till about A.D. 1736-7. Mr. Logan controverts this view; but he was challenged with arguments that he could not easily answer. Our author is inclined to hold the view that the land-tax was introduced only sometime about the date of the Mysorean conquest, and that the land-owners were only subject to occasional contributions in times of war and invasion.

The administrative system of the land, it is maintained, had a continuous development till the time of the Mysore conquest, based on the *Nad, Desam, Gramam* and *Tara*. The history of coinage has a chapter for itself. Coins, both European and Indian, appear to have been current from very early times. *Topasses* the various classes of Malabar Christians, the tradition of St. Thomas, the history of the Malabar Christian Church, the tradition about the Jews, their settlement and history, the Moors and Mappillas—all these are put forward and described with an admirable amount of concentrated information culled from many sources. Different opinions might be held by scholars on minor points connected with these topics; but in this book we find a regular condensing of the best part of the literature available on each topic. The Editor is to be congratulated on the publication of this volume in which the peculiar treatment followed has been qualified by a careful, sober and discriminating—withal plenteous—annotation of topics which should be useful alike to the lay reader and the scholar.

C. S. S.

'AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISTRICT OF PURNEA
IN 1809-10'

BY

FRANCIS BUCHANAN, AND EDITED FROM THE BUCHANAN
MSS. IN THE INDIA OFFICE LIBRARY

BY

V. H. JACKSON, M.A., I.E.S.

[Patna: published by the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, 1928.

Price Rs. 10. Pp. 620 + xlvii.]

THE Bihar and Orissa Research Society have been publishing the Journals of Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton (1762-1829) who was a versatile scientist and the first writer of gazetteers for the Bengal and Bihar Districts; his well-known *Journal Through Mysore, Canara and Malabar* compiled during a tour through those territories in 1800-1, still continues to be a valuable source-book for their economic and social conditions on the eve of the establishment of British rule in them. Extracts from his manuscript which is preserved in the India Office

were issued by Montgomery Martin in 1838 (Martin's name alone appearing on the title-page) in three volumes containing ill-arranged information about the agrarian conditions that prevailed in the regions. The scheme of publishing in their entirety all the manuscripts of Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton about Eastern India was conceived and pushed forward by the late Mr. V. H. Jackson of the Government College, Patna; and it has been realised by the publication in the *Journal* of the Society of the journal of daily record written for the survey or during his tour in the districts of Patna and Gaya in 1811-2 (edited by Mr. Jackson), in the district of Shahabad in 1812-3 (edited by Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham); and in the district of Bhagalpur in 1810-1 (edited by Mr. Oldham), while that of the Purnea district appears to have been lost.

The Purnea Report was prepared for publication by Mr. Jackson who arranged the matter on the model of the *Report of the Dinajpur District* (entitled *Account of Dinajpur*) published in Calcutta in 1833, and being the only one of his Reports which have been hitherto published. The book lacks the introduction which it was the intention of Mr. Jackson to provide, but which was prevented by his untimely death. The arrangement begins with an account of the extent and boundaries of the district, its soil, elevation and appearance; a preface containing historical notices of the district which contains the ancient regions of Gaur and Mithila and traces the later history of the district down to the middle of eighteenth century; it might perhaps have been better if this account had been annotated so as to improve upon and bring up-to-date our historical knowledge of the region. The ruins of Gaur, in which no monuments of the ancient Hindu kings were observable, but wherein, outside the works of Lakhnauti, the remnants of the supposed residence of King Adisura are pointed out, are described very fully, particularly concerning the monuments of Muslim rule. Succeeding chapters forming the second part give us plenty of information about the condition and manner of living of the people, the prevalence of slavery, the languages and dialects spoken, pandits and their scholarship for which the district has been justly famous, the different kinds of Brahmans and other classes, the caste system, etc.

The third part of the Report deals with the fauna, flora and minerals of the region; and the last two parts are devoted to a description of

agriculture, arts, manufacture and commerce, including the culture of indigo, which under the system of plantations managed by Europeans, even then occasioned much discontent both among landlords and tenants. Coins, weights and measures were mostly the same as those that were current in Dinajpur. Stress should be laid on the value of Dr. Buchanan's account of Hindu and Sanskrit scholarship and the condition of the knowledge of pandits and others. The plans of the district and of the city of Gaur are interesting and useful. The index is very detailed and has been compiled by Dr. A. Banerji Sastri.

C.S.S.

'A SHORT HISTORY OF BRITISH EXPANSION'

BY

JAMES A. WILLIAMSON

[(Second Ed.)—Vol. I: The Old Colonial Empire; Vol. II: The Modern Empire and Commonwealth. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1930. Pages xxii + 470 and xvi + 315. Price 15s. net each.]

THE second edition of this history of the British people in its external aspects is, on its modern side, practically a new work. Parts V and VI which make up volume II now contain seventeen chapters in place of the former eight and about three-fourths of the text is new. The book is a conscientious and accurate statement in a very handy and readable form of the best results of modern research into some of the most important aspects of British history. Though it covers a wide range of subjects, the narrative is always clear and well-proportioned. The topics selected for study and the sequence in which they are treated help the reader to follow the expansion step by step and see clearly the interaction of various forces on national character and policy at every stage. The analytical table of contents, the maps and indexes are well calculated to make reference easy and the bibliographical notes are models of concise and suggestive criticism of recent literature on the subjects treated in the book.

Mr. Williamson has been generally successful in commanding a strictly scientific outlook; even in instances where he differs from the conclusions of other writers, as for instance in Vignaud's account of Columbus, he provides a clear and fair summary of the arguments on

the other side and helps the reader to judge for himself. He deprecates 'the attempt to give a romantic colouring' to the achievements of the Elizabethan age as it renders the whole picture untrue. The Puritan emigration of the seventeenth century 'was an unnatural phenomenon in the national life, arising not from a healthy instinct for expansion, but from a schism in the Church and the State so deep and so embittered that the passions to which it gave rise never wholly subsided in the Puritan colonies.' It was on the whole well that the separation of America from England took place when it did; else the government of the composite Empire filled with cosmopolitan immigrants of Germans, Slavs, Latins and disaffected Irish, 'would have moved ere long from the banks of the Thames to those of the Hudson' and 'the people of the British Isles might now or in the future—if the suggestion is not too fantastic—be contemplating their own forlorn war of independence against the great non-British combination which had engulfed them!'

In recent times, in dealing with the problems of the Pacific 'there has been much double-dealing and shifty diplomacy.' 'In its international aspects, the Pacific situation bears some resemblance to that in the West Indies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, although the threat of disturbance to peace has never been quite so acute.' The changes in the Imperial constitution of the British Empire during the Great War and after are very well stated in the concluding chapters of the book, 'The British nations had gone into the War as an Empire, . . . They emerged from it as something different, something that is not quite accurately described as an alliance of independent states; for there is no treaty of alliance, as in other such unions, but only an unwritten working understanding and there is a formal bond, of quite undefinable nature in the common sovereignty of the Crown. The divergence between the legal and constitutional positions was by 1919 wider than ever.' The Locarno Pact threatened the unity of the British Commonwealth still further in 1925 and the resolution of the Imperial Conference in 1926 contained nothing new and like most British constitutional documents it placed 'on formal record a state of affairs already in existence' and left institutions to evolve under pressure of circumstances.

'In writing of modern India', Mr. Williamson admits, 'it is hardly possible to avoid error, for authoritative opinions are completely

at variance on almost every important question.' The chapter on modern India is very instructive as a record of the impressions of an earnest English scholar derived from a careful study of the literature to which he has ready access; and the bibliographical note (p. 308) shows its nature. England, says Mr. Williamson, did not conquer India, but conquered and tamed her conquerors and Indians know this in their hearts and this more than anything else explains India's response to the call of 1914. But one may doubt the validity of Mr. Williamson's psychology when he draws from this the comfortable conclusion that 'the rioting and sedition and incendiary talk, and even the murderous outrages of the preceding years, were but the tropical expression of that criticism of the existing order which is universal in intelligent communities.' On the other hand, few will question the need for his wise, if somewhat strident, warning: 'The results of Asiatic Swaraj approached by way of democratic theory are evident in China, where the overthrow of autocracy has created misery for the victims of the experiment and a chronic nuisance to the world. Reform must be realistic and combine the lessons of China with those of Japan.'

We may congratulate Mr. Williamson and his publishers on the thoroughness and excellence of his work which will, one hopes, be soon found in all the libraries of our colleges and schools.

K. A. N.

'THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE BRITISH DOMINIONS'

BY

A. R. KEITH

[Messrs. Macmillans, London.]

THE rapid development of the incidents of Dominion Status is of absorbing interest to the student of politics. Starting as mere dependencies of England, these Dominions have now reached a practically sovereign and independent status with an assured membership in the family of nations (in their own right). Prof. Keith traces the story of this progress in its legal and constitutional aspects with skill and judgment in the pages of his book 'The Sovereignty of the British Dominions.'

When the Balfour formula was accepted in the Imperial Conference of 1926, nothing remained but to work out the problem of how to effectuate the actual independence of the Dominions in the matter of legislation of an extra-territorial character in the appointment, status and functions of Governor-General and as also details regarding diplomatic technique. The Privy Council's jurisdiction over Dominion causes had already been effectually questioned and frustrated by the action of the Free State authorities, and it was a dead issue. Prof. Keith's effort to argue its unconstitutionality and its inconsistency with the obligations under the treaty has only given point to the fact that British Imperial history is not always the record of logical growth under strictly legal or constitutional forms. As regards Parliamentary sovereignty in legislation, the Dominion Laws Conference, whose report was published after the work under review came out, has quite clearly laid down the principle that such sovereignty does not exist, and that the machinery of Parliament is only to be availed of with the consent of the Dominions and for purposes of convenience. There is little doubt that the Dominions will now get the right of extra-territorial legislation in respect of their citizens, as even India has the right to-day. Thus, the Dominions have, in fact as in law, to-day risen to a status of equality with the Mother Country.

As regards their status in international law, the position is not clear equally. Some of them are of course members of the League of Nations. But New Zealand and Newfoundland are not yet members of the League. They continue to be represented by England. Even as regards the other Dominions, while it is clear that each of them is entitled to the full rights of membership and has occasionally taken up positions hostile to the views of England, the claim has been made that they are members of the League only *qua* members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The Irish Free State has resisted this reading of the relations between the Dominions individually and the Empire as a whole, and has claimed that at any rate the Irish Free State is a perfectly independent international entity. Prof. Keith points out with great clarity the implications of this claim. The practical questions arising from this are these. Should one of the Dominions desire to sever her connection with England and the Empire, will she be entitled to ask the League to intervene and assist her to fight the attempt of the United Kingdom to resist the secession? The

League guarantees the territorial integrity of its members; and if the whole of the Empire is considered one unit, the League would be bound to prevent any attempt at dismemberment of the Empire. On the other hand, if the Dominions are international persons in the accepted sense of that term, the League would be bound to intervene to prevent wars in which attempts are made by one member to assert constitutional rights over another. In other words, does secession involve the snapping of a constitutional tie or an international one? The answer of the Irish Free State and of S. Africa to this question would be unambiguous. They look upon the Empire as a smaller edition of the League of Nations, co-equal and independent; leagued it may be by reason of facts of history but nevertheless admitting of no doubt as to the present equality of status of the Dominions; units of the Empire, each to the other. This equality is conceived increasingly in the spirit of international law. The transition is slow, but very clearly perceptible. Very similar would be the difficulty in the event of war. Is any Dominion entitled to go to war with any state on her own responsibility? Should the United Kingdom declare war against any state, are all the Dominions to be in a state of belligerency? Attempts have been made to assert that it is possible for a Dominion to be neutral while the rest of the Empire may be at war. The way of getting over this very delicate situation is not yet clear; but it appears that the solution will be in the direction of having Dominions' representatives in London, with whose previous consent alone international decisions, especially of war and peace would be taken. A clear-cut legal definition of status is yet impossible but there is no doubt as to how any particular question in regard to this has actually to be answered at the present moment.

Prof. Keith has very rightly not considered the case of India as she is no Dominion as yet. In fact India's battles are being won by the other Dominions. There is the promise of Dominion status for India, and every augmentation and advance of that status will ultimately ensure to the benefit of India as well. To publicists in this country, therefore, the invaluable study of Dominion Status which Prof. Keith has offered, is of the utmost practical interest.

We have only to add a word more. The Dominion Laws Conference and the present Imperial Conference have really taken matters far ahead. There are many chapters in Prof. Keith's work, in which

expressions of views will have to be very largely modified in consequence of the actual manner in which the various questions have been authoritatively settled. Prof. Keith has approached the questions from a strictly legal and constitutional point of view. But, are not these questions predominantly political, once an equality of status is asserted and conceded? If only Prof. Keith will discuss in greater detail the political actualities of the Empire to-day, incorporating the progress achieved during the last four years, the second edition of his work should prove immeasurably useful to students of British Imperial problems.

(NOTE.—Official Report of the proceedings of the Imperial Conference, 1930, is not yet available.)

N. D. V.

'THROUGH THE HEART OF AFGHANISTAN'

BY

EMIL TRINKLER

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY

B. K. FEATHERSTONE

[London, Faber & Gwyer. 1930. Pp. 246 and illustrations. Price 15s. net.]

AMIR Amanullah and his fateful, though brief, rule have created world-wide interest in Afghanistan which, even till the reign of Habib-ullah, was forbidden ground to the unauthorized private European traveller. We in India have but known too well that the doors of the Khyber and other passes have refused to open to all save a few among the seekers of adventure who have attempted to pass that way. Lowell Thomas, the author of the well-known book, *With Lawrence in Arabia*, has written in his own inimitable manner of the Khyber Pass and of Afghanistan beyond it with the diplomatic groupings, British and Chinese, Turkish and Russian, Persian and Bokharan, that waited in the ante-chambers of Amanullah's palace; and Sir George Macmunn has given us quite recently a more serious account of the wild Afghan country and its chequered history from the age of Darius Hystaspes to the epoch of Amanullah. Now we have an account of his experiences in the country by Emil Trinkler, who

travelled into it *via* Russian Turkestan and prospected in the Hindu Kush region for coal and iron at the request of the modernizing Amir. Trinkler is a geologist of reputation, but he has carefully omitted from embodying in this book all the scientific results of his travel and put in only such extracts from his diary showing the adventures of his journey and his capacity for observing details and his humorous methods of description. He had been fascinated even as a student, by the countries of Central Asia; and his journey as the agent of a German-Afghan trading company was made through Tashkent, Samarkand, Merv, Kushk and Herat and thence across the mountains to Kabul, Charikar and Bamian among the Hindu Kush ranges and finally through Peshawar and India, back again to Europe. His distressing experiences at the frontier stations of Soviet Turkestan do not speak well for the frontier officials either of the Soviet or of the Russian Government. His account of Herat is that of a decayed city fallen from its ancient magnificence and refers to the references made to it by Babar in his *Memoirs* and Central Asian historians. We have also frequent references made to Arthur Conolly's travels from Kabul to Khiva in 1831, to the Bamian valley so full of Buddhist relics described in all their freshness by Hiuen Tsiang, the famous Chinese pilgrim and to the accounts of these antiquities by Moorcroft, Jaworski and Foucher. In one place the author comments strongly on the difference in condition between Peshawar and Kushk, between the Punjab and Russian Turkestan, between English and Russian rule, very much to the disadvantage of the latter. Lastly he describes the rising of the Mangals against the Amir, which was the beginning of the troubles that led to the revolution. The writer's visit to Delhi, Jaipur and other beauty-spots in Northern India ending with his embarkation for Europe from Calcutta are good; but one is afraid that if his mistakes are as bad as those that he makes about his touching at Madras, where he strolled 'along the Strand Promenade, the Morena to the town' and 'took lunch at the Garden Hotel,' there may be a great deal of charge of inaccuracy levelled against his narrative, however excellent and readable it may be. The book is supplemented with a brief glossary of the non-European terms used and with a sketch-map of the Afghan country, indicating the route of the author.

C. S. S.

'THE INVASIONS OF EUROPE BY THE BARBARIANS'

BY

J. B. BURY

[Macmillan & Co. 1928. Pp. xii and 296.]

PROFESSOR BURY succeeded Acton in the Regius Professorship of Modern History at Cambridge and interpreted the term 'Modern History' very liberally, as beginning not with the Renaissance, but practically from the disruption of the Roman Empire. He was of the opinion that history should supply the material for political and social science, but would not admit Acton's claim that it should sit in judgment on men and movements. Though it might supply material for literary art or philosophical speculation, it was by itself 'simply to be a science, no less and no more.' His researches into the history of the Later Roman Empire were supplemented recently by his revised and amplified *History of the Roman Empire, 395-565 A.D.* (1923). This book is in the form of a series of lectures delivered from time to time before the University of Cambridge and covers roughly the two centuries of transition from Roman to Mediæval Europe (A.D. 375 to 575). As Professor Hearnshaw, the editor of this posthumous work, says in the Preface that he has contributed, these lectures contained 'little or nothing which was not being incorporated in greater detail and with an elaborate apparatus of notes and references in the larger works which were being produced simultaneously with them.' As summaries of his considered conclusions on a number of points connected with this period, the lectures are very useful. Thus the part played by the readjustment of the military organization of the Empire in the struggle that it waged with the German invaders, the gradually increasing Germanic penetration into the Empire, the danger of which was not realized at first, the importance of the battle of Nedao in A.D. 454 in which the Germans utterly defeated the host of their Hun lords; the double phase of Odovacar, the fall of the Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy which is indicative of the comparative failure of East German peoples; the relation of Clovis to the Roman Empire and Emperor; and the legislative administration of the Lombards—these are only the more important of the topics discussed on which much new and refreshing light has been thrown.

The work of Professor Hearnshaw has been (1) to supply an appropriate title for each of these fifteen lectures, and (2) to divide each lecture into sections and sub-headings so as to give a clearer idea of the contents and facilitate references on particular points.

Professor Bury is particularly vivid in the matter of the reign of Theoderic in its constitutional and administrative aspects and he deals at length with the extent of Germanic influences in it. He is fuller than other historians regarding the relation of the Empire to the rule of Clovis and the contributions of the Lombard law-givers, Rothari and Liutprand. The Professor has by this book, completed his own survey of the Roman Empire and connected two separated links of his treatment there.

S.

‘THE HISTORY OF JAHANGIR BY FRANCIS
GLADWIN’

EDITED WITH NOTES BY

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A.

[Messrs. B. G. Paul & Co., Madras. 1930. Pp. xxiii and 184. Price Rs. 5.]

FRANCIS Gladwin, who was in the Bengal Army and was encouraged by Warren Hastings in his studies in Oriental Literature, became later the first Professor of Persian in the College of Fort William and translated a portion of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, *The Gulistan* and other works. He also compiled a *Persian-Hindustani-English Dictionary*. He planned a *History of Hindustan* during the reigns of Akbar's successors, but only brought out *The History of Jahangir* which was published as the first volume of the *History* in 1788 at Calcutta. This *History* abstracted copiously from the work of Khwaja Kamgar Gairat Khan. He was a nobleman of the Mughal Court under Jahangir and Shah Jahan and took a prominent part in the suppression of the rebellion of Khan Jahan Lodi. It was usually styled *Jahangir-Nama* by Indian writers, but is said to have been given the name of *Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri* by Gladwin. About one-sixth of it is devoted to the proceedings of Jahangir previous to his accession to the throne. This particular portion is said to be 'very independent and free-spoken in its tone' by Sir H. M. Elliot and affords a favourable contrast to the *Iqbal Nama* (of Mutamad Khan) which was written for the

purpose of courting the Emperor's favour.' However it has been remarked that the manner in which the *Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri* describes the murder of Abul Fazl scarcely bears out this encomium of superiority to flattery ascribed to it. The work has not yet been printed; two extracts from it, dealing respectively with the murder of Abul Fazl and Shah Jahan's move after the coup of Mahabat Khan, are given in translation in the sixth volume of Elliot and Dowson (pp. 442-5). The chief point of value of the work is, according to Dr. Beni Prasad, in the first portion dealing with Jahangir's actions before his accession, where it supplies information contained neither in Jahangir's *Memoirs* nor in the *Iqbal Nama*; and in the later portions of the Emperor's life, it mainly follows these two works.

The *Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri* is, according to all authorities, the main basis and quarry for Gladwin; it is regarded as a partisan work in favour of Shah Jahan in whose reign the author was promoted to the governorship of Thattah with a *mansab* of 3,000.

Perhaps it would be too much to maintain, as the Editor does, that Gladwin's history 'merits republication as a sober scholarly work based on a careful study of the original sources in Persian.' Vincent Smith himself who is invoked in support of its value, would regard it as 'a sound book, chiefly valuable for the life of the Emperor as Prince Salim in Akbar's reign.' Gladwin's book did useful service, as the Editor points out, in counterbalancing the influence of the spurious version of Jahangir's *Memoirs*, translated by Major David Price, in the Oriental Translation Fund Series and he made good use of the copy of the *Memoirs* which he had secured. His style is good and the annalistic form in which the narrative is made does not create any feeling of dulness in spite of the old-fashioned spelling of proper names which is retained. The notes supplied by the Editor elaborate the extant sources from which the author had largely taken his matter as well as various other points which are indicated in the literature on the period since published. It may be wished that the indicative footnotes were somewhat fuller in places and that more care had been taken in avoiding small mistakes in spelling, as in Blochman in p. 150 and Avicenna in p. 67. The re-publication is however welcome. Its usefulness is enhanced by the introductory note on Gladwin.

S,

'FOREIGN BIOGRAPHIES OF SHIVAJI'

BY

DR. SURENDRA NATH SEN

[Book Co., Ltd., Calcutta]

THIS is a work consisting of extracts from a number of writers generally foreign, bearing on the life of Shivaji. Mr. Sen has already published a translation of the *Sabhased Bakhair* on Shivaji in a translation and this constitutes a supplement to that work. Another source of material for the history of this period is being exploited in another publication, the *Source Book of Mahratta History* published under the auspices of the Government of Bombay. Some extracts from English writers that one would expect should be included in this are omitted for the reason that they would constitute a portion of this Bombay series. What is included in this work is an extract from Cosme da Guarda's account of Shivaji, an account of Shivaji by Barthelemy, and the sequel to this account by the same author, an account of the Karnatak expedition of Shivaji by Francois Martin, Description of Surate by Francois Valentine, some extracts from Dutch records and English embassies to the court of Shivaji. This is supplemented by a few additional notes.

The work naturally consists of these extracts translated, providing the material for a life of Shivaji. So far as that part of the work is concerned, we should say it is very well done and is a creditable performance of considerable value to the student of the Mahratta history of the period. Prefixed to this is an introduction of over fifty pages, which attempts an estimate of the relative value of these sources for purposes of history. The summary given by Dr. Sen is a good one and deserves careful perusal by the serious student of history. In a matter like this one set of sources alone cannot give the final word, and for a tenable judgment the various sources will have to be considered together in their cumulative result. While therefore one may differ in detail from Dr. Sen in regard to his conclusions in this particular, this very introduction furnishes the evidence of earnest-minded investigation of the various questions on which these various sources shed light. We congratulate the author upon this excellent work of his and welcome the work among those contributing to a satisfactory study of Mahratta history.

'ISLAM: BELIEFS AND INSTITUTIONS'

BY

HENRI LAMMENS, S.J.

[Translated from the French by Sir Denison Ross.
Methuen & Co., Ltd., London.]

THE author of this work is Professor of Arabic in the University of Jerusalem and goes to the work of describing the beliefs and institutions of the votaries of Islam from a detached point of view. The fact that it is translated by such a high authority as the Director of the School of Oriental Studies, London, is guarantee that the work is quite a reliable one in expounding Muslim history and theology. The work is based on first-hand sources of information like the *Koran* and the varying ramifications of Islamic tradition. In a brief compass, the work provides a thoroughly reliable and comprehensive survey of Islam through the thirteen centuries of its existence, and ought to be welcome to those that wish to know something of Islam at first hand, but could not go to the sources, be they Muslims or non-Muslims. It is a compact little book, very precise and clear in its statement and covers practically every detail of Islamic religion and institutions. We welcome the work as a very important addition to the literature of a difficult subject.

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Indian Antiquary

August, 1930 -

J. CHARPENTIER: 'Pindāri.'

KAMTA PRASAD JAIN: 'A further note on the Svetambara and Digambara sects.'

MUDALIYAR, C. RASANAYAGAM: 'The origin of the Pallavas.'

Mr. Mudaliyar puts forward a vigorous defence in support of his theory of the Chola-Naga origin of the Pallavas. The late Mr. Kanakasabhai has mentioned five Tirayars of whom Pallava Tirayar were one. The earliest Pallava Tondaman Ilam Tirayan was a Pallava Tirayan who reigned at Kanchi just as the later Pallavas.

K. DE. B. CODRINGTON: 'The Culture of Mediæval India as illustrated by the Ajanta frescoes.'

This is an attempt to picture Indian culture as illustrated in the Ajanta frescoes, under the following heads: (a) costume and embroidery, (b) textiles, (c) ships and boats, (d) house furniture, (e) arms, (f) pottery, (g) metal work.

R. R. HALDER: 'Chitor and its sieges.'

September, 1930—

K. DE. B. CODRINGTON: 'The Culture of Mediæval India as illustrated by the Ajanta frescoes' (*continued*).

SATINDRA KUMAR MUKHERJEA, M.A.: 'Samkara on the conditions of Knowledge.'

L. V. RAMASWAMY AIYAR, M.A., B.L.: 'Tamil Arisi and Greek Orizon.'

Supports Bishop Caldwell's view that Greek *Oriza* was borrowed from Dravidian *Arisi*. The author opines that though Caldwell expressed only an opinion, yet it appears to be justified on closer analysis despite the objections raised by scholars.

REV. H. HERRAS, S. J.: 'The Portuguese Fort of Barcelor.'

The Portuguese fort of the above name is here located in the modern town of Kundapur; *Upper Barcelor* of the Portuguese records is identified with *Basrur*.

SIR R. C. TEMPLE: 'Scraps of Tibeto-Burman Folk-lore.'

October, 1930—

DR. S. N. PRADHAN (BRIHASPATI): 'The site of the Rig Vedic battle between Divodasa and Sambara.'

The following conclusions are arrived at:—

- (1) The country named Timingilāsana situated in the south according to Varāhamihira agrees remarkably with the title of Timidhwaja—used in the Rāmāyana for Sambara—and also with the description of Sambara's country as situated near Dandaka forest in the Rāmāyana.
- (2) The battle according to Bharadvāja took place at Udabraja which is the most interesting and appropriate Rig Vedic name for Kathiawar.
- (3) Several Rig Vedic expressions agree remarkably with the ancient names Purātanapura, etc., for Junagadh.
- (4) *Urjayanta* of the Rig Veda. *Ujjayanta* of the 'Maha Bharatha' and Prabandha Chintamani *Vaijayanta* of the Rāmāyana. *Urjayant* of the Inscriptions of Skandagupta and Rudradāman, Girinagara of the Prabandhacintāmani and Rudradāman Inscription, establishes it that the great Rig Vedic battle was fought near the ancient castle Uparkot of Junagadh and was fought about 1500 B.C. in the middle Rig Vedic period.

S. CHARLES HILL: 'Origin of the caste system in India, (*continued*).

L. V. RAMASWAMY AIYAR, M.A., B.L.: 'The Velar aspirate in Dravidian.'

SASHI BHUSHAN CHAUDHARI, M.A.: 'The Nine Dwipas of Bharatha Varsha.'

Bharatha Varsha bore a wider sense within which the islands of the Far East were included. The ninth Dwipa is identical with India proper and hence the other eight have to be identified.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society

July, 1930—

V. N. SARDESAI: 'Some problems in the Nasalisation of Ma-rāthi.'

GIUSEPPE TUCCI: 'A Fragment from the Pratītya Samutpāda of Vasubandhu.'

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society

DR. R. SHAMA SASTRY, B.A., PH.D.: 'The author of the Gadā-yuddha.'

Adduces a long list of reasons—16 in number—and supports the conclusions of Srinivasa Rangāchari that Ajitanāthapurāna and Gadāyuddha were the works of a Jain and a Brahmin respectively.

K. RAMAVARMA RAJA, B.A.: 'Story of Vrishākapi and his transformation.'

P. S. GOVINDA RAO: 'Facts about the Elephant.'

D. VENKATA RAMIAH, B.A., L.T.: 'Swetāsvatāropanishad' (English metrical translation with notes).

C. M. RAMACHANDRA CHETTIAR: 'Kongu Cholās A.D. 1000-1300.'

Mr. Chettiar points out that—

(1) The inscription in the Kongu country reveals a new line of the Chōlas—though feudatory to, but different from the Vijayālaya line.

(2) That this dynasty was the only one that continued without break till about 1300.

L. A. KRISHNA IYER, M.A.: 'The Sabarimalai Pagoda.'

The pagoda is situated some fifty miles west of Kottayam in Travancore and attracts lakhs of devotees every year. The God worshipped is Harihara or Śāsta—and the chief festival comes on the 1st of Thai or otherwise called Makara Vilakku. The author here gives an account of what a pilgrim going to that place should do? how he should conduct himself, the way to the pagoda, the march and return.

S. SOMASUNDARA DESIKAR: 'Ellappa Navalur.'

S. SRIKANTA SASTRY: 'Mulakas.'

PROF. SARAT CHANDRA MITRA: 'Studies in the Bird Myths—No. XXXI.'

Journal of Oriental Research

VOL. IV, PART III

July to September—

PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRY, M.A.: 'An Examination of a new interpretation.'

Dr. Prān Nāth's new interpretation of the word *grama* into *estate*, is here called into question. On an examination of the authorities cited by the doctor himself, the learned Professor points out that they do not support the new interpretation.

O. K. ANANTALAKSHMI AMMAL, M.A.: 'Studies in the Upanishads' (continued).

T. R. CHINTAMANI, M.A.: 'Lakshana Ratnāvalī.'

An unknown work of Srimad Appayya Dikshitar.

PROF. P. T. S. AIYANGAR, M.A., L.T.: 'Saka-Pallavas in Indian History.' (continued).

N. VAIDYNATHA SASTRI SIROMANI: 'Life of Chokkanatha Makkin of Kausika Gotra from literary sources.'

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, M.A.: 'Asoka's Religion—The evidence of Archaeology.'

Mr. Dikshitar here questions the orthodox idea that Asoka was a Buddhist. Archaeological remains and other evidences have, according to the learned lecturer, in no way, conclusively proved that the great Mauryan Emperor was a Buddhist. In his own words the monuments of Asoka cannot carry conviction hence to decide the religious leaning of the Emperor to Buddhism.

Journal of the American Oriental Society

VOL. L

March, 1930—

BARRET, LEROY CARR: 'The Kashmirian Atharvaveda.'

Book 15 edited with critical notes.

The Calcutta Review

August, 1930—

R. GANGULY, M.A.: 'The Agricultural land in Ancient India.'

PARIML RAY, M.A.: 'The History of Taxation of Salt under the rule of the East India Company.'

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJEA, M.A., B.L.: 'Brahmanism, Monasticism and Buddhism.'

JAYANTA KUMAR DAS GUPTA, M.A.: 'Nepal's Relations with the outer World.'

NARAYAN CHANDRA BANERJEA, M.A.: 'Slavery in Ancient India.'

Accounts for the existence of slavery, and traces its history in India down to very modern times.

Modern Review

August, 1930—

RAJANI KANTA DAS: 'Political Reorganization and Industrial Efficiency.'

Pointing out the inter-relation between politics and economics in general; the author considers the question of Indian industrial reorganization and her political condition under three heads:

- (1) National Government.
- (2) Constructive Research.
- (3) Functional Education.

N. K. BHATTASALI: 'Influence of physical features on Indian History.'

Holds that some time-honoured conclusions regarding the success of the foreigners (Moslems, etc.), require revision and re-consideration. Special attention is drawn towards statements made in the Bengal Matriculation Texts. The author holds that the facts of Indian history show that the real weakness of India lay not in her hot climate, absence of a navy or courage, etc., but in the absence of a fighting race of men, constituting the whole nation, i.e., to say, the caste system gave a hereditary body of professional fighters which, though it gave excellent material, was not sufficient in numerical strength. When that class was extinguished or defeated, the other classes lay at the mercy of the enemy.

The Round Table

Summary of Articles in the September Number

THE subject of the first article in the September number of *The Round Table* is, of course, 'The Crisis in India'. Its nature and history are explained, and the difference shown between the British and the Indian standpoints—those of the best British and the best Indian minds. The writer considers the gulf to be narrower than it is usually supposed to be, though he is sure that there is only one way in which a bridge can be found.

The next article is 'The Task of the Imperial Conference', a task left over from the 1926 gathering, and now brought back to the Imperial Conference again from the Committee to which it was referred, the Dominions' Legislation Committee, with definite recommendations. What degree of significance should be attached to these is explained. The writer reminds us that the problem now is not to look back, trying to save something here and there from what is left of Great Britain's old supremacy, but to construct something better in its place.

The next article takes us across the Atlantic to 'Hoover and his first Congress', and it is plain that not only the President, but the Senate have come with credit out of the Naval Pact business. It is obvious, too, from the account of other events in the American political world, that Mr. Hoover's stock is rising.

The fourth article is 'Imperial Economic Unity'. Lord Beaverbrook's scheme for Empire Free Trade is subjected to a searching criticism, and the causes of the world-wide depression are discussed. In the writer's view, there are other ways in which the peoples of the British Empire can endeavour to help one another with less risk of disappointment.

'England from Without' gives us a picture of ourselves as others see us. We get foreign impressions of our moral, social and political life, and the American, it seems, differs from the Continental. The view, apparently common enough, that we are on the downward grade, is discussed. Fortunately there are, as the writer points out, some consoling features.

Next comes 'China in 1930' from the Far East itself, a front where a quarter of the human race, and the pockets of all of us are affected by the struggle. But in spite of everything—the despair of the people has recently been increased by the new Communist terror—the writer still sees the best hope of the future in the Nanking Government, though the diplomatic body still clings to its Peking quarter.

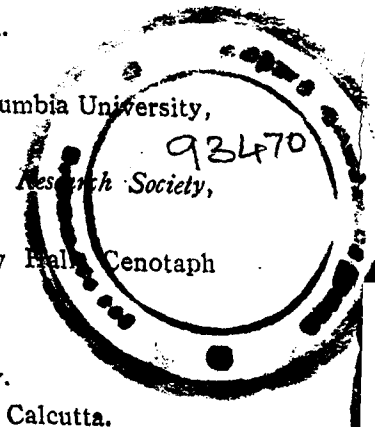
Next comes the 'Reaction to the Simon Report' from an Indian pen. The Viceroy's famous pronouncement of last October has, in the writer's opinion, detracted from the importance of the Report, but for all that, consciously or unconsciously, its main conclusions seem already to have been endorsed by Indian opinion, although there are two points upon which the writer is sure that no good can ever be expected.

The 'Great Britain' article shows the plans of the various parties for meeting unemployment, as well as the effect which that problem is itself, directly or indirectly, having upon the parties.

The usual Irish article follows. The success of the new loan shows the progress achieved by the young Irish Free State, the only country, it would appear, whose foreign trade shows improving figures. Among the Dominion contributions, the article on the recent election campaign in Canada and the Australian comment on the proposals of the Dominions' Legislation Conference, to which the first section of the South African article also refers, will probably attract most attention.

OUR EXCHANGES

1. *The Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute*, Deccan, Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
2. *Bharat Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala*, Poona City.
3. *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient*, Hanoi.
4. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London University, London, Longmans, Green & Co., London.
5. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London Institution, Finsbury Circus, London.
6. *Calcutta Review*, 3, Senate House, Calcutta.
7. *Hindustan Review*, Patna Junction, E.I.Ry.
8. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 96, Amherst St., Calcutta.
9. *Journal Asiatique*, Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, Paris.
10. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Patna.
11. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Managing Editor, 'The Ashrama', Luz, Mylapore.
12. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
13. *Journal of the Kern Institute*, Leiden, Holland.
14. *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, Exchange Building, Sprott Road, Bombay.
15. *Muslim Review*, 3, Government Place, Calcutta.
16. *Nagari Pracharini Sabha*, Benares.
17. *The Political Science Quarterly*, Kent Hall, Columbia University, New York.
18. *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Andhra Historical Society, Rajahmundry.
19. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Daly Hall, Cenotaph Road, Bangalore.
20. *The Yale Review*, Washington, U.S.A.
21. *Yoga-Mimansa, Kun'javana*, Lonavla, Bombay.
22. *The Modern Review*, 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
23. *The Vedic Magazine and Gurukula Samachar*, Gurudatta Bhavana, Lahore.



24. *The Ceylon Journal of Science*, Office of the Archæological Survey, Anuradhapura (Ceylon).
25. *The Historical Studies*, Accession Department, University Library, University of California, Berkeley, California.
26. *The Indian Review*, Esplanade, Madras.
27. *The Servant of India*, Servant of India Society, Poona City.
28. *The Shrine of Wisdom, Ahlu*, 6 Hermon Hill, London, E. 11.
29. *The Telugu Academy Journal*, Cocanada.
30. *The Mysore University Journal*, Mysore University, Mysore.
31. *The People*, 2 Court Street, Post Box 116, Lahore.
32. *The Young Men of India*, The Thottam, Salem.
33. *The Gaekwad's Oriental Series*, Oriental Institute, Baroda.
34. The Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras.
35. *Social Science Abstracts*, 611, Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York City.
36. 'Tarikh' *Kollah Akbar Jah*, Hyderabad (Deccan).
37. The Superintendent of Archæology, Gwalior State, Gwalior.
38. Verlag Der Asia Major, Leipzig C1, Scherlstr, 2.